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AMERICAN CRISIS BIOGRAPHIES

Edited by

Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, Ph. D.

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U. S. Grant.

AMERICAN CRISIS BIOGRAPHIES

Ulysses S. Grant

By

FRANKLIN SPENCER EDMONDS

Author of "History of the Central High School of Philadelphia," "A Century's Progress in Education," etc.

PHILADELPHIA

GEORGE W. JACOBS & COMPANY

PUBLISHERS

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To H. E.

whose devotion to his adopted country in the War for the Union has been an inspiration to those who have come after him

340216

PREFACE

AMID the multitude of biographies of General Grant, written in the main by those who knew him with some degree of intimacy, the appearance of another may seem to demand explanation, and even apology. I cannot lay claim either to participation in the stirring history of his times, or to personal acquaintance with my subject; but each generation requires the service of its own historians and biographers, in order to bring the message of the past to bear on the present; and this book is the result of an honest attempt to record a life that is full of significance for our own era.

The time has now come when the great struggle for national existence, known as the American Civil War, can be studied without passion or prejudice. Within the last few years, many volumes of personal reminiscences and letters have appeared, and the correspondence of the leaders on both sides has been made available. The primary sources of information, therefore, are approaching completion. Even with this wealth of material, it has not always been easy to determine the exact truth with reference to some of the facts of Grant's life. His public record was made in a time of bitter partisanship, when few were willing to state fairly the point of view of their

opponents. Moreover, his own writings are sometimes of little assistance to his biographer, not because of inaccuracy or distortion, but for limitations in subject. While the "Personal Memoirs" will always rank as a military classic, yet his letters, although numerous, give little explanation of the genius of the man. From early manhood, he had learned to disregard popular clamour, and even when the leader of a great national party, he rarely deigned to explain his actions, or to palliate hostile criticism. In his most intimate conversations, he almost never discussed himself. What he had done or what he had seen, he could describe with a vivid, terse accuracy; but subjective analysis did not interest him, nor did he realize how valuable it might be to those who would seek to interpret his life. While his reticence concerning himself has added to the difficulties of the biographer, yet it is hoped that from the wealth of supplementary material, substantial accuracy has resulted.

Many have assisted in the preparation of this book, including some of the fast-decreasing group of Grant's comrades, and their courteous and generous interest is here gratefully acknowledged.

The frontispiece has been taken from a photograph by F. Gutekunst, made in the month of the Appomattox Campaign.

F. S. E.

March, 1915.

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CHRONOLOGY

1821, June 24—Marriage of Jesse Root Grant and Hannah Simpson.

1822, April 27—Birth of Ulysses Simpson Grant (Hiram Ulysses), at Point Pleasant, Ohio.

1823—Removal to Georgetown, Ohio.

1836–7—Spends winter at Maysville, Kentucky, attending the Seminary.

1838–9—Attends boarding school at Ripley.

1839—Appointed to United States Military Academy at West Point.

1843—Graduated from Academy, and commissioned as Brevet Second Lieutenant in Fourth United States Infantry. Service at St. Louis.

1844—Service at Natchitoches.

1845—Engagement to Miss Julia Dent. Service at New Orleans and Corpus Christi.

1846—War with Mexico,—Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma. Appointed Quarter-Master and Commissary of regiment. Monterey.

1847—Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Contreras, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec. Occupation of Mexico City.

1848—Peace with Mexico. Return home and marriage (August 22). Ordered to Sacketts Harbor.

1849–51—Garrison duty at Detroit. Return to Sacketts Harbor.

1852—Ordered to Pacific *via* Panama. Cholera en route.

1852–3—Service at Fort Vancouver.

1853–4—Service at Fort Humboldt. Resignation from army.

1854–60—With family at St. Louis,—farming, real estate, etc.

1860–61—In the leather business at Galena, Illinois.

1861—Presides at Union meeting in Galena. Serves as clerk in office of Adjutant-General of Illinois. Appointed Colonel of the Twenty-First Illinois. Marches into Missouri. Appointed Brigadier-General of Volunteers. In command at Ironton, Jefferson City, Cape Girardeau and Cairo. Seizure of Paducah. First battle at Belmont (November).

1862—Capture of Fort Henry. Surrender of Fort Donelson (February). Appointed Major-General of Volunteers. Battle of Pittsburg Landing (April). Capture of Corinth. In command of Department of Tennessee. Battles of Iuka and Corinth. Advance on Vicksburg.

1863—Capture of Arkansas Post. Attempts upon Vicksburg. Seizes Bruinsberg, Port Gibson and Grand Gulf. Battles of Raymond, Jackson, Champion's Hill, and Big Black. Investment of Vicksburg. Surrender (July 4). Appointed Major-General in the Regular Army. Injured at New Orleans. Placed in charge of Military Division of the Mississippi. Chattanooga relieved. Battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge (November).

1864—The Meridian Expedition. Appointed Lieutenant-General of the Armies of the United States (March). The general advance (May). Battles of Wilderness, Spottsylvania, North Anna and Cold Harbor. The crossing of the James River. Petersburg besieged. The Shenandoah Campaign. Successes of Sherman, Sheridan and Thomas.

1865—Capture of Fort Fisher. Sherman's march through the Carolinas. Fort Stedman. Battle of Five Forks. Petersburg and Richmond evacuated. Appomattox (April 9). Assassination of Lincoln. Johnston surrenders to Sherman. End of the War. Inspection of Southern States.

1866—Appointed General of the Armies of the United States.

1867—Appointed Secretary of War *ad interim*.

1868—Nominated for the Presidency (May). Elected (November).

1869—Inaugurated as President. Difficulties with Cabinet and Appointments. "Black Friday."

1870—Break with Sumner over San Domingo Treaty. Ratification of Fifteenth Amendment.

1871—Treaty of Washington over Alabama claims.

1872—The Geneva Award. The Liberal Movement. Renomination and Reëlection.

1873—Inaugurated a second time. The *Virginius* affair. Panic of 1873.

1874—Veto of Inflation Act.

1876—The Centennial Celebration. The Hayes-Tilden Election. The Electoral Commission.

1877—Hayes inaugurated. On Tour of the World, from May, 1877, to September, 1879.

1880—The Third Term Movement. "The 306." Invests in Grant and Ward.

1883—Injured by fall on ice.

1884—Failure of Grant and Ward. Writes articles for *Century Magazine*. Suffers from cancer of throat.

1885—Restored to rank in Army, as retired General. Completes "Personal Memoirs." Death (July 23).

1897—Remains removed to Mausoleum on Riverside Drive, New York City.

ULYSSES S. GRANT

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE

"COMRADES, having been compelled, as often I have since my arrival in San Francisco, to utter a few words not only to ex-soldiers, but to all other classes of citizens of our great country, and always speaking without any preparation, I have necessarily been obliged to repeat, possibly in not the same words, but the same ideas. But the one thing I want to impress on you is that we have a country to be proud of, to fight for, and die for if necessary."

These simple words were addressed by General Grant to a vast audience of war veterans filling every corner of the Academy of Music in Philadelphia, on December 12, 1879, which had assembled to bid him welcome home from a tour of the world. A distinguished ex-governor of the Commonwealth, then the Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, presided over the meeting; the governor had delivered an eloquent address of welcome. The guest of the evening was no orator, but on many occasions he showed his command of plain

and effective words, and this time, impressed with the unusual spirit of the occasion, he spoke from the heart. He described the influence of war upon the growing boy, who, without any exciting cause, would probably have stayed by his father's home and followed his father's pursuit, but who, aroused by the principles of the great conflict, had gone forth into a wider life, and when the war was over, without any diminution of his love for the old home, had then struck out for new fields, and thereby had become a pioneer in trade and commerce.

In referring to the opportunity and change which the Civil War had brought into the life of the country lad, General Grant might have referred appropriately to his own career. There is probably no actor in that stormy period, whose outlook, ambitions, hopes and prospects were altered more completely by the great conflict than his. The drama of life offers many curious contrasts, but none more effective than that which shows him in 1861, as drifting through life, unable, after many trials, without family assistance to make a living for his household and himself, and then—four years later —presents him the idol of the nation, having achieved a world-wide renown—with the greatest political prospects within his reach. When his opportunity came, he was ready, and so his is the well-earned prize, but it is not too much to say that if there had been no American crisis culminating in Civil War, the world never would have heard of Grant, and the literature of American life would

have lacked one of its most interesting and effective illustrations.

Ulysses Simpson Grant was born April 27, 1822, at Point Pleasant, Ohio, his parents being Jesse Root and Hannah Simpson Grant. In his "Memoirs," he states that "My family is American and has been for generations, in all its branches, direct and collateral."

For eight generations the history of the Grants is the typical record of a pioneer family. In 1630 Matthew Grant and Priscilla, his wife, with an infant daughter, sailed from Plymouth in the four-hundred-ton boat, *Mary and John*, under Captain Squib.[1] After a voyage of seventy-one days, they arrived at Nantasket and settled at Dorchester, south of Boston. They were a part of the large Puritan migration to New England. In 1631, Matthew Grant was admitted as a freeman of Dorchester, but five years afterward he removed the family home to Windsor, Conn., where he lived until his death, serving in various positions of honor as the first surveyor of the town, town clerk, etc.

"He was a prominent man in the church," says

[1] Whether Matthew Grant was of Scotch descent, owing allegiance to the clan, whose famous motto "Stand Fast, Craig Ellachie" is exemplified strongly in the lives of some of his descendants, or whether he was an English yeoman of Puritan proclivities, it is now impossible to determine. Jesse R. Grant thought he was of Scotch descent, but as Matthew Grant came from the southwestern part of England, it is difficult to understand just how there could have been a strong Scottish element in his blood.

Dr. Styles of the progenitor of the Grant family, "and evidently was just and conscientious in all his public and private transactions and duties; as Recorder he often added notes explanatory or in correction to the records, which have considerable value to the investigator of the present day. He was the compiler of the old church record. . . . In short, he was a pious, hard-working, conscientious Christian man and a model town clerk."

Matthew Grant seems to have had a high degree of tenacity in asserting his views and in maintaining what he conceived to be right. A controversy arose in the church in 1668, because a portion of the members desired to leave their first pastor and organize a separate parish under a popular preacher. A town meeting was called at which a vote was secured in favor of giving the new minister a hearing, but Matthew Grant refused to enter the proceedings of the meeting upon the records; whereupon the entry appears on the books in a strange hand and beneath was a protest by the town clerk, as follows: "This is a proviso: I here express to clear myself from having any hand in assenting to the warning of the town meeting, so called, as George Griswold has entered in this book, Aug. the 8th, '68, for he and some others came to (my) house after they had been together, and desired me, being the town recorder, to enter their town vote, made this day, that Mr. Woodbridge shall have the liberty to preach on the Sabbath. I told him I would not have no hand in the business nor enter

their vote. Then he desired me to let him have the town book, wherein I used to enter such things. He being a townsman I laid the book upon the table, and there he wrote himself what is entered by his own hand. This I certify.

"MATTHEW GRANT.

"*Augt. 17, 1668.*"

Matthew Grant was twice married and left several children, of whom the oldest son was Samuel, born in Dorchester in 1631. His son was Samuel, Jr., born in Windsor in 1659, dying in 1710. His son, Noah Grant, was also born in Windsor in 1692 and died in 1727. His widow afterward married Peter Buell and so brought about a relationship between the Grants and the family of Don Carlos Buell, the contemporary of General Grant in the Civil War.

The fifth generation was represented by Noah Grant, 2d, who was born in Tolland, Conn., in 1718 and was a scout and soldier, being appointed captain in the French and Indian War. He took part in a number of military engagements around Lake George and Lake Champlain, serving with the famous scout, Rogers, and Israel Putnam and John Stark, until in 1756, when he went out in a scouting party and was returned as "absent." While he was probably killed, yet no letters of administration were granted on his estate until 1774. His son, Noah Grant, 3d, was also born in Tolland, Conn., in 1748. He took the field after the battle of Lexington, was originally commissioned as a lieuten-

ant, and served until the end of the Revolutionary War as a captain. About 1790 he emigrated from Connecticut to Westmoreland County, Pa., near Greensburg, about twenty miles from Pittsburgh. Here he married a second time and after a few years set out for the Western Reserve, locating at first in Liverpool, Columbiana County, O., but removing in 1800 to Deerfield, Portage County. The last years of his life were spent with his son Peter at Maysville, Ky., where he died in 1820. A part of his large family settled south of the Ohio River, and several of his grandchildren fought with the Confederates in the Civil War.

Jesse Root Grant, the oldest son of the second marriage of Captain Noah, was born in Westmoreland County, Pa., in 1794, and was named after the Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Connecticut. Several years of his youth were spent with the family of Judge Todd at Youngstown, O. In 1812 he removed to Maysville, where he learned the tanning business in association with his half-brother. In 1815 he opened a tannery at Deerfield, O., but as there was not much business at this location, he moved three years later to Ravenna, the county seat of Portage County. Here he experienced fever and ague and had a number of business reverses, whereupon he removed to Point Pleasant County, on the banks of the Ohio River, about twenty-five miles southeast from Cincinnati. He again established a tannery, and as business prospered so that he could maintain a home, he decided upon matrimony,

and on June 24, 1821, he married Hannah Simpson, the second daughter and the third child of John Simpson, who had been born and brought up in Montgomery County, Pa. Her father was a highly respectable farmer of American ancestry for several generations. The family had recently removed to Ohio. Jesse R. Grant thus described his wife: "At the time of our marriage, Mrs. Grant was an unpretending country girl; handsome but not vain. She had previously joined the Methodist Church; and I can truthfully say that it has never had a more devoted or consistent member. Her steadiness, firmness and strength of character have been the stay of the family through life. She was always careful, and most watchful over her children, but never austere, and not opposed to their free participation in innocent amusements."

The home at Point Pleasant was a small one-story frame cottage situated near the northern bank of the Ohio River. After the great fame came to the child which it sheltered in early life, the house was removed and has since been preserved at Columbus, O., on the state fair grounds. It was here that the oldest son, Ulysses Simpson Grant, was born. In 1823 the Grants removed from Point Pleasant to Georgetown, the county seat of Brown County, O., where the father started again with a small tannery and after a few months built a modest two-story brick house which was paid for that summer from the profits of the business.

"I continued on in this way," writes Jesse Grant,

"improving a little every year. Two years after I built my house, I added a kitchen in the rear, and a few months later, when the increase of my family required and my means justified it, I built a large house in front. My object was not to get rich, but to make my family comfortable and contented, and to train up my children for usefulness. Early in the year 1839, when my oldest son was nearly seventeen years of age, he told me he could never follow the tanning business; that he did not like it. I told him that whatever he expected to follow through life he should engage in now, and not waste his early life in learning a business he did not intend to follow. Among other preparations for life he desired an education. Although my business had been good and reasonably successful, yet I did not feel able to support him at college. So I suggested West Point; that met his approbation, and I made application, and by the veriest accident in the world I obtained the appointment for him."

In 1841 he sold out the business at Georgetown and formed a partnership with E. A. Collins to conduct the leather business at Galena, Ill. After several years of success in this partnership, Jesse R. Grant retired from business in 1854 with a competency. His later years were spent in Covington, Ky., where, during the presidency of his distinguished son, he served as postmaster of the town. The secret of his success may be summed up in his own words: "Preferring to do a sure business to a large one, I worked on such means as I had, and never involved

myself in debt. Soon after I commenced business at Point Pleasant, General Lytle, of Cincinnati, offered me an empty tannery he had in that city, and agreed to furnish all the means necessary to carry it on, but I was afraid to take the responsibility, and adhered to my first policy of a sure thing rather than a large one. The man who did take the place retired ten years ago on a fortune of a million dollars. I kept on in a moderate way, supporting my family well, teaching them the practical lessons of life, and fitting them for future usefulness. If I had taken the General's tannery, I should, no doubt, have come into possession of a sudden, overgrown fortune, and spoiled my children. As it was, when I was old enough to retire, my boys were fully qualified to take my place, and I have the consolation of knowing that I have educated my children all well, and have made them all moderately wealthy, besides knowing that they are all doing well for themselves." [1]

[1] Summary of family :

1st. Matthew Grant—Born 1601, England ; died 1681, Windsor, Conn.

2d. Samuel—Born 1631, Dorchester, Mass. ; died 1718, Windsor, Conn.

3d. Samuel, Jr.—Born 1659, Windsor, Conn. ; died 1710.

4th. Noah (I)—Born 1693, Windsor, Conn. ; died 1727, Tolland, Conn.

5th. Noah (II), (Captain)—Born 1718, Tolland, Conn. ; lost 1756, near Fort William Henry.

6th. Noah (III), (Captain)—Born 1748, Tolland, Conn. ; died 1819, Maysville, Ky.

7th. Jesse Root—Born 1794, Westmoreland County, Pa. ; died June 29, 1873, Covington, Ky. Married Hannah Simpson

Jesse R. Grant was a successful pioneer. He recognized the business needs of the new community and adapted himself to supply them. Thrifty, although not penurious in personal life, and a good bargainer, he had little difficulty in supporting his growing family and in accumulating a competency for his own old age. But he was not regarded with universal favor by his neighbors. He was disputatious, and fond of an argument, somewhat clever with his pen, but vain of his own cleverness. His Southern neighbors, of whom there were many, regarded him as radical in his Northern sympathies, and even his friends criticized his oft-expressed pride in his children, especially his first-born. To those who were accustomed to deal with the stern realities of life on the edge of the wilderness, it seemed sentimental and foolish to waste time and maybe warp nature by talking of "My Ulysses" and what he might accomplish!

Hannah Simpson Grant is an illustration of the familiar rule that the strongest qualities of successful men are derived from the mother. She was the descendant of a long line of Pennsylvania pioneers, probably Irish in origin, and illustrated the best traditions of her race. That she was a remarkable woman is the universal testimony of her neighbors. "His mother at that time was about thirty years of

—Born November 23, 1798, Montgomery County, Pa.; died May 11, 1883, Jersey City, N. J.

8th. Ulysses Simpson—Born April 27, 1822, Point Pleasant, Ohio; died July 23, 1885, Mt. McGregor, N. Y.

age," writes Daniel Ammen, a playmate of Ulysses, "above medium height, graceful in manner, gracious to children, neat in person, and kept the children neatly clothed, which was rather unusual in that part of the world at that time. In after years, the General told me that he had never seen his mother shed a tear. She had a cheerful countenance, a kind word to all, and in my eyes was very handsome, and in reality certainly was at least very prepossessing and agreeable." She could endure, without complaint; she could work, without chattering; she could govern with firmness, without appeal to fear. Later in life, the neighbors said of Grant,—"He got his sense from his mother."

To this father and mother there were born six children, of whom the subject of this biography was the first.[1] He was named Hiram Ulysses, after a family consultation which has something of simple romance. When the baby was a few weeks old, the mother went on a visit to her father's home, ten miles away,

[1] Ulysses Simpson (Hiram Ulysses)—Born April 27, 1822; died July 23, 1885.

Samuel Simpson—Born September 23, 1825, at Georgetown, Ohio; died September 13, 1861, near St. Paul, Minn.

Clara Rachel—Born December 11, 1828, Georgetown, O.; died March 6, 1865, Covington, Ky.

Virginia Paine—Born February 20, 1832, Georgetown, O.; Married Abel R. Corbin; died March 28, 1881, Jersey City, N. J.

Orvil Lynch—Born May 15, 1835, Georgetown, O.; died August 4, 1881, Elizabeth, N. J.

Mary Francis—Born July 30, 1839, Georgetown, O.; married Rev. Michael John Cramer; died January 23, 1898, Carlisle, Pa.

to exhibit her first-born. While there, a family council was called, to name the child. The grandfather, John Simpson, suggested Hiram as a proper Scriptural name; an aunt advocated Theodore, which was with her a favorite name; two members of the circle urged Albert in recognition of Albert Gallatin, always a strong favorite in the West, although then in the evening of his years; the grandmother favored Ulysses, suggested to her from the recent reading of a translation of Fenelon's "Telémaque."[1] Tradition says that these names were written on slips of paper and placed in a hat, and that the name Ulysses was drawn, although afterward Hiram was added, in deference to the grandfather. This quaint tale resulted in many a heartburn, not unnatural, to the child thus baptized. In the simple life of the West, a classical name seemed ridiculous and absurd. In boyhood, natural abbreviations were soon invented,—"Lys" or "Useless" or "Hug" from the initials. It was not until the owner had given honor to the name that the habit of ridicule was overcome.

When Ulysses was one year old, his father moved his family fifteen miles east of Point Pleasant, to Georgetown, a small hamlet located on one of the many tributaries of the Ohio River, about ten miles

[1] "Your father, Ulysses, is the wisest of mankind, his heart is an unfathomable depth; his secret lies beyond the line of subtlety and fraud; he is the friend of truth; he says nothing that is false, but when it is necessary he conceals what is true; his wisdom is, as it were, a seal upon his lips, which is never broken but for an important purpose."

above the main stream. Here the tanner reëstablished his home and business, and here the busy, happy years of childhood were spent. At first, there were scarcely a dozen families in the place, but there was rapid growth, and as the population increased, Jesse Grant advanced in prosperity, until he became one of the important citizens of the place.

Many of the traditions of childhood have been preserved, but for most of them it is difficult to find absolute proof. In his "Memoirs," Grant said: "In my early days, every one labored more or less, in the region where my youth was spent, and more in proportion to their private means. It was only the very poor who were exempt. While my father carried on the manufacture of leather and worked at the trade himself, he owned and tilled considerable land. I detested the trade, preferring almost any other labor; but I was fond of agriculture, and of all employment in which horses were used. We had, among other lands, fifty acres of forest within a mile of the village. In the fall of the year choppers were employed to cut enough wood to last a twelvemonth. When I was seven or eight years of age, I began hauling all the wood used in the house and shops. I could not load it on the wagon, of course, at that time, but I could drive, and the choppers would load, and some one at the house unload. When about eleven years old, I was strong enough to hold a plough. From that age until seventeen, I did all the work done with horses, such as breaking up the land, furrowing, ploughing corn

and potatoes, bringing in the crops when harvested, hauling all the wood, besides tending two or three horses, a cow or two, and sawing wood for stoves, etc., while still attending school. For this I was compensated by the fact that there was never any scolding or punishing by my parents; no objection to rational enjoyments, such as fishing, going to the creek a mile away to swim in summer, taking a horse and visiting my grandparents in the adjoining county, fifteen miles off, skating on the lake in winter, or taking a horse and sleigh when there was snow on the ground."

Of these early days, a few incidents may be narrated, of higher credibility than many of the legends which surround early greatness, because of the light which they cast upon personality. Thus, when the child was three years old, a neighbor fired a pistol close to his ear, and was greatly pleased at the glee of the youngster, who, with the joy of childhood, demanded "Do it again."

He had a wonderful love for horses, and would as a child play with the teams at the tannery, swinging upon their tails, riding bareback, etc., and later he mastered the difficult art of standing barefoot upon a sheepskin strapped on the horse's back, while driving at a fast gallop. When he was eight years old, his father sent him to buy a horse from Ralston, a farmer, and with his usual keenness at a bargain, Jesse told his son to offer twenty dollars, and then twenty-two-fifty, and if absolutely necessary to get the horse, twenty-five dollars. When Ulysses ar-

rived at the farm Ralston asked him,—"How much did your father tell you to pay?" To which the boy replied naively,—"He told me to offer you twenty dollars, and if necessary, twenty-two-fifty, and rather than return without the horse, to offer twenty-five dollars." It is needless to say that the highest figure was paid, and the story caused a general laugh in the village at the simplicity of Jesse's favorite son.[1]

When Ulysses was about twelve, his father was awarded the contract to build the county jail at Georgetown. This necessitated the hauling of logs and other building material, and the son worked as a teamster in fulfilment of the plan. It was two miles from the woods to the site, and as the logs were a foot square and fourteen feet long, the loading required the aid of strong men. One day, when rain was threatening, the wood-cutters did not report in the forest, and Ulysses found himself alone. Instead of driving back for a holiday or asking for assistance, he took advantage of a fallen maple, used it as an inclined plane, hitched his horse to the logs, and dragged them, one by one, up the plane until they could be pushed on his cart, and so alone completed the job!

This was a fine training for practical life, and

[1] It is regrettable that some of Grant's political biographers have ruined this characteristic story, in the desire to puff, by manufacturing a rejoinder to the farmer by the boy that although his father had authorized him to pay twenty-five dollars, he felt that the horse was not worth more than twenty, and would give that amount and no more.

well does his career illustrate that there is no better schooling than that which is afforded by the every-day problems of pioneer life, where the mind is trained to quick thinking, and the body is urged to fulfil the command of the will. But this sturdy out-of-doors life was not the only education which the boy received. A small brick schoolhouse stood on a hill about three hundred yards from the court-house, near the home of the Grants, and here John D. White, whose son, Chilton White, was afterward congressman from the district, maintained a subscription school. It was a wholesome school, although the curriculum was not elaborate. "I never saw an algebra, or other mathematical work higher than the arithmetic, in Georgetown, until after I was appointed to West Point," said Grant in the "Memoirs." One teacher taught all grades and subjects and maintained order and discipline in the orthodox and not ineffective fashion then prevailing. Writing to Daniel Ammen, in 1878, Grant refers to the time when "you and I first received instruction under John D. White and a long beech switch cut generally by the boys for their own chastisement."

A better opportunity for training was presented in the winter of 1836–1837, when Ulysses, now aged fourteen, was sent to Maysville, Ky., to visit for several months in the family of his great-uncle, Peter Grant. Here he attended the Maysville Seminary, conducted by Richeson and Rand, and so came under the influence of men of college culture. The records of the Philomathean Society show that

Ulysses attended several meetings from January to March, 1837, and that he participated in several debates on public questions, quite in harmony with the ideals of the American boyhood of his age.[1] When assigned to debate, he responded readily, and was eventually elected a member of the debate committee, but when he was given a declamation, he paid his fine and was silent.

Two years later, Jesse Grant, who was always keenly alert to give his son a good education, provided Ulysses with a winter term in a boarding-school at Ripley, a town on the Ohio River, between Georgetown and Maysville. Later, Grant said: "I was not studious in habit, and probably did not make progress enough to compensate for the outlay for board and tuition."

Such was the environment of his boyhood. There was wholesome, strenuous, useful work to be done,—schooling in the essentials,—plenty of out-of-doors fun,—occasional entertainments,—reverent

[1] The researches of Hamlin Garland have brought to light the old minute book of the Society, with the following entries:—

"*Resolved*, That the Texans were not justifiable in giving Santa Anna his liberty." (Affirmative, H. U. Grant.)

"*Resolved*, That females wield greater influence in society than males." (Affirmative, H. U. Grant.)

"*Resolved*, That it would not be just and politic to liberate the slaves at this time." (Negative, H. U. Grant.)

"*Resolved*, That intemperance is a greater evil than war." (Affirmative, H. U. Grant.)

"*Resolved*, That Socrates was right in not escaping when the prison doors were opened to him." (Affirmative, H. U. Grant.)

observance of the Sabbath. This was the typical life of the times, and it produced strong men for the period of the crisis.

Among his comrades, Ulysses seems to have had an average popularity. None of them became the intimates of his mature life, although with some, such as Ammen, he always maintained a warm friendship. Nothing extraordinary had yet been indicated either in his personality or capacity, and few expected the realization of the extravagant hopes of his father. He had a boy's love for fun and horses, and a boy's aversion for certain kinds of work. Later in life he confessed, "I did not like to work; but I did as much of it, while young, as grown men can be hired to do in these days, and attended school at the same time." He was a sturdy youngster, with a certain fidelity to the task assigned, lacking boisterousness, but without any special surface qualities to give the hope of budding genius. Probably the best picture of Ulysses in these early days is given by a Philadelphia journalist, whose boyhood was spent in Georgetown:

"A brother of the General was a fellow 'devil' in the printing office in which we were then the younger imp. And through him we became acquainted with Ulysses, or 'Lyss' as he was called by the boys. He was then a stumpy, freckle-faced, big-headed country lad of fifteen or thereabouts, working in his father's tan-yard; and we often stood by his side and exercised our amateur hand, under his direction, in breaking bark for the old

bark-mill in the hollow. Though sneered at for his awkwardness by the scions of North Kentucky, who honored Georgetown with their presence, Ulysses was a favorite with the smaller boys of the village, who had learned to look up to him as a sort of protector.

"We well remember the stir created by the appointment of the tanner's son to a cadetship at West Point. The surprise among the sons of our doctors, lawyers, and storekeepers was something wonderful. Indeed none of us boys, high or low, rich or poor, could clearly imagine how Uncle Sam's schoolmasters were going to transform our somewhat *outre*-looking comrade into our *beau ideal* of dandyism—a West Pointer. . . . Modest and unassuming, though determined, self-reliant and decisive then, as he still seems to be, we mistook his shy, retiring disposition for slowness, and, looked up to as he was by us all, we must confess that there was much joking at his expense as we gathered of evenings in the court-house square."

The opportunities of life were now to be widened, and the country boy was to be introduced to broader experiences and a stricter discipline than his home community could present.

CHAPTER II

AT WEST POINT

To the American boy of seventeen, who has been trained to work and to think, no prize that destiny can offer is beyond reach. The first crisis in Ulysses's life came when, having attained his growth, the problem of vocation was to be determined. His father had planned to have the son join him in the tannery, but the years of boyish work had given Ulysses an unconquerable aversion to this occupation. As a lad, he would drive a team, or haul logs, or carry a message,—anything in preference to breaking the bark into the hopper or cleaning the hides in the beam-house. It was not wholly laziness, for since childhood he had been working steadily for his father and others, and had accumulated savings of $100,—a large sum for a youngster in his 'teens. It was rather the dislike which children often form to a father's occupation, based upon a too intimate acquaintance with the operations of the trade, before the love of useful work has come with maturity. So when Jesse Grant offered to take Ulysses into the tan-yard, the son replied that he would work for his father until he was twenty-one years old, but not one day after that at tanning; and when his father ques-

tioned him as to his plan for life, Ulysses said that he would like "to be a farmer, or a Mississippi trader, or to get an education." The first two ambitions were within reach but did not appeal to the father; the suggestion of the third at once brought to mind the National Military Academy at West Point, which several of the youth of the village had attended. So the father asked, "How would you like to go to West Point?" to which the son replied, "First rate," and the family plan was formed.

At this time, West Point had already attained to a unique position in American education. Founded in 1802, it had for years graduated a group of young men, many of whom, after a brief service in the army, had become leaders in civil life. It was more democratic than the typical college, for it drew from all classes in society; it was more modern than the classical institutions, for it placed the emphasis on scientific studies, rather than the languages; it was more distinctly American than any other school of learning, for its cadets were drawn from all over the country, and since each brought the traditions of his early training, the educational influence of the group upon each student was profound. Moreover, from the earliest days the discipline of the Academy was most effective. There was a demerit system, whereby each offense against good order, or decorum, was visited with a definite penalty, and when the demerits accumulated to a sufficient degree, the

offender was dropped from the rolls. This necessitated a constant watch over the details of conduct, which stimulated self-mastery and encouraged habits of self-control. Under the influence of this system, the Academy received each year a large group of raw, unformed, and maybe poorly-trained boys, and at the end of four years, sent them forth well-poised and cultured gentlemen, fitted not only to do their work in the world, but also to represent worthily the dignity and honor of their country.

Moreover, the educational advantages of such a training were very great. The superintendent was always an army officer, and usually served for a brief term of years; but there was a permanent faculty of scholars equal in grade to the best college of the time, and they were assisted in the class-room work by the best of the recent graduates of the Academy. At a time when there was no free public high school west of the Alleghanies, and when many of the colleges were identified with sectarian control, it may be readily imagined that the dream of education at the National Academy would appeal strongly to any ambitious boy.

Jesse Grant was not the man to rest idly after the plan had once been determined upon. The congressman of the district, Hon. Thomas L. Hamer, had been a close personal friend, but in a recent political disputation there had been a disagreement, and the father consequently first addressed himself to Hon. Thomas Morris, senator from Ohio, asking for the appointment at large for Ulysses. Senator

Morris at once replied that he could not fulfil this request, since having received no applications from his own state, he had transferred his right to appoint to Pennsylvania,[1] but that there was a vacancy from the district, and that an application to Mr. Hamer would doubtless produce the desired result. So the father pocketed his pride, and wrote to Mr. Hamer, who at once exerted himself in the interest of his constituent, and within a few months it was announced that Ulysses had been appointed to the class which would enter the Academy in July, 1839.

In his "Memoirs" Grant gave the following account of his appointment: "In the winter of 1838–1839 I was attending school at Ripley, only ten miles distant from Georgetown, but spent the Christmas holidays at home. During this vacation my father received a letter from the Hon. Thomas Morris, then United States Senator from Ohio. When he read it he said to me, 'Ulysses, I believe you are going to receive the appointment.' 'What appointment?' I inquired. 'To West Point; I have applied for it.' 'But I won't go,' I said. He said he thought I would, *and I thought so too, if he did.* I really had no objection to going to West Point, except that I had a very exalted idea of the acquirements necessary to get through. I did not believe I possessed them, and could not bear the idea of fail-

[1] In the early days of Ohio, appointments were frequently made from outside of the state. In his "Memoirs," General Sherman records that in 1836 he went up to West Point with two appointees from Ohio, neither of whom had ever seen the state!

ing. There had been four boys from our village, or its immediate neighborhood, who had been graduated from West Point, and never a failure of any one appointed from Georgetown, except in the case of the one whose place I was to take. He was the son of Dr. Bailey, our nearest and most intimate neighbor. Young Bailey had been appointed in 1837. Finding before the January examinations following that he could not pass, he resigned and went to a private school, and remained there until the following year, when he was reappointed. Dr. Bailey was a proud and sensitive man, and felt the failure of his son so keenly that he forbade his return home. There were no telegraphs in those days to disseminate news rapidly, no railroads west of the Alleghanies, and but few east; and above all, there were no reporters prying into other people's private affairs. Consequently it did not become generally known that there was a vacancy at West Point from our district until I was appointed. I presume Mrs. Bailey confided to my mother the fact that Bartlett had been dismissed and that the doctor had forbidden his son's return home."

The gossips of Georgetown did not take kindly to the appointment of the tanner's son. Prior appointments had been conferred upon the sons of gentlemen in professional life, and there seemed little in this "short, stubby boy," "sluggish in mind and body," to suggest military achievement. One even asked Jesse why some one had not been chosen "that would be a credit to the district." But, disregard-

ing criticism or praise, the family proceeded with the preparations for the departure of the eldest son.

Until this time there was no uncertainty concerning the name of the future general. When his father applied to Mr. Hamer, he referred to his son, H. Ulysses, and school records bear abundant testimony to the fact that the boy's accepted name was H. U. Grant. But when a neighbor made a trunk for his belongings, and traced on the cover, in big brass tacks, the initials "H. U. G." Ulysses protested. "It spells 'hug' and the boys would plague me about it," he complained, and presently he reversed the initials himself, and thenceforth, for a brief period, was known as Ulysses H. Grant.[1]

In May, 1839, the young traveler started on his eastern journey. The final farewells were said and the last greetings exchanged. When his neighbor, Mrs. Bailey, the mother of his predecessor at West Point, wept as she said "Good-bye," Ulysses protested,—"Why, Mrs. Bailey, my own mother didn't cry!" Excess of outward emotion was not the habit of that well-poised soul!

The next two weeks were spent in travel, and were a source of keen joy to the prospective soldier. "I had always a great desire to travel," said Grant in his "Memoirs," and he naively confesses that his interest in the prospect of a military life was so

[1] In the manuscript collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, there are letters, dated March and April of 1843, addressed to Carey & Hart, book publishers of Philadelphia, ordering illustrated editions of some of Lever's novels, signed "Ulysses H. Grant, Cadet, U. S. M. A."

slight that, after seeing the cities of the east, he would have rejoiced in a railroad accident, if he might have received a temporary injury sufficient to make him ineligible for the Academy. Most of the methods of travel known to the American of that day were practiced before the boy arrived at West Point. Three days were spent on the steamboat from Ripley to Pittsburgh; then several days on the canal from Pittsburgh to Harrisburg, with the aid of the railroad then recently opened over the summit of the Alleghanies; then by rail from Harrisburg to Philadelphia, a new experience which seemed like "annihilating space." Five days were spent in Philadelphia in becoming acquainted with the many objects of interest in that historic city. The beautiful Grecian structure of Girard College was in process of building, the corner-stone having been laid six years before, and it specially attracted the attention of the sightseers. From Philadelphia, after a reprimand from home for delaying so long *en route*, he proceeded to New York and then to West Point, and on May 29, 1839, the name of Ulysses Hiram Grant was affixed to the Adjutant's record at the Military Academy.

At this point in Grant's career, his name was changed to the form by which he is generally known. In soliciting the appointment, Congressman Hamer, knowing that his neighbor Grant had a son named "Simpson," confounded his name with that of the eldest boy and made his application in the name of "Ulysses Simpson Grant." In this

form the name appeared on the muster-roll; and when Grant presented himself to execute the certificate of enlistment, he was obliged to sign himself U. S. Grant. The error could probably have been corrected by appeal to the Secretary of War, but time and trouble would have been involved in the necessary red tape; so the young man accepted the situation, and was henceforth known officially by the new name. After a few years, he dropped Hiram, never a popular name with him, and henceforth was known personally and to history as Ulysses Simpson Grant.

The new initials served to give him a local fame far different from that which he had anticipated under the old. His closest associate among the great warriors of the crisis, William T. Sherman, was then a cadet at West Point in the class which was graduated in 1840, and years after he told the story of Grant's first appearance at the Academy. "I remember as plain as if it were yesterday Grant's first appearance among us. I was three years ahead of him. I remember seeing his name on the bulletin-board where the names of all the newcomers were posted. I ran my eye down the columns, and there saw U. S. Grant. Some of us began to make names to fit the initials. One said 'United States Grant,' another 'Uncle Sam Grant,' a third shouted 'Sam Grant.' The name stuck to him, and by it he was henceforth known by the cadets of the Academy."

The new life introduced him to the most rigorous

discipline which could have been found in any institution of learning in America. First there was a physical examination to determine his fitness for the work. Then there was a series of tests in elementary branches, which Grant found not so difficult as he had feared. After being admitted as a cadet, there was then a full four years' course, which included algebra, higher mathematics, trigonometry, surveying and calculus, chemistry, mineralogy, electricity, magnetism, optics, and astronomy, infantry and cavalry drill, military and civil engineering, pyrotechny and artillery, French, rhetoric, moral philosophy and Kent's "Commentaries," and landscape, topographical and figure drawing.

In addition to these subjects, constant attention was required to details of dress and deportment, care of equipment, punctuality, and conduct. Writing to his cousin, after three months at the Academy, Grant said: "I came near forgetting to tell you about our demerits or 'blackmarks.' They give a man one of these 'blackmarks' for almost nothing, and if he gets two hundred a year they dismiss him. To show how easy one can get these, a man by the name of Grant, of this state, got eight of these 'marks' for not going to church. He was also put under arrest so he cannot leave his room perhaps for a month; all this for not going to church. We are not only obliged to go to church, but must march there by companies. This is not republican. It is an Episcopal church."

His record of demerits during his four years was

quite extensive. In the first year he received fifty-nine, and was graded No. 156 on the conduct roll, in a total of 233 for the entire corps; in the second year he received sixty-seven demerits, and was No. 144 out of 219; in the third year he received ninety-eight demerits, and was No. 157 out of 217; in the last year he received sixty-six demerits, and was No. 156 in a total of 223. Most of these "black-marks" were awarded for lateness and negligence; occasionally for failure to report the delinquencies of others; once he spoke disrespectfully to a superior. Plainly here was no "model boy," but a live American, with all of a boy's difficulty in conquering sluggishness and establishing accurate and exemplary habits under an iron-clad discipline.

At this time, the educational organization of the Academy was complete and the work of instruction was in unusually competent hands. Major Richard Delafield was the superintendent, and among the professors and teachers were William H. C. Bartlett, natural and experimental philosophy; Albert E. Church, mathematics; Rev. Jaspar Adams and Rev. M. P. Parks, geography, history and ethics; Jacob W. Bailey, chemistry, mineralogy and geology; Robert W. Weir, drawing; Claudius Berard, and H. R. Agnel, French; Charles F. Smith, commandant of cadets, in charge of infantry tactics; Alexander J. Swift, practical engineering; Dennis H. Mahan, civil and military engineering; Minor Knowlton, artillery and cavalry; George G. Waggaman, Joseph Hooker and Irvin McDowell,

adjutants; Ferdinand Dupari, sword-play; and James McAuley and Henry R. Hershberger, riding masters. There were also a number of younger men who served as instructors, supervising the class-room work. Many of these teachers were officers of the army and graduates of the Academy, and hence thoroughly imbued with the peculiar traditions of the service.

As a student, Grant showed some lines of strength and many of weakness. "I did not take hold of my studies with avidity," he states in the "Memoirs"; "in fact I rarely ever read over a lesson the second time during my entire cadetship. . . . I never succeeded in getting squarely at either end of my class, in any one study, during the four years." He avoided expulsion, which would have followed upon one hundred zero marks in six months, and he passed all of his examinations successfully; but his record in the various branches is a comfort to those students who, from temperament or slow development of capacity, lack acquaintance with the head of the class. Mathematics, generally regarded as the most difficult subject of the course, gave him little trouble, and here he maintained a class grade of sixteen in the first year and ten in the second. But in French he was but an indifferent student, and was generally found in the last third of the class.[1] In his last year,

[1] When Grant was President, John Eaton, who had just returned from Europe on a tour of educational inspection, explained to him the growing use of illustrations to aid education. Eaton commented on the fact that at West Point there was a set of illustrations of mathematical principles, but Grant said

out of a class of thirty-nine, he attained a general standing of twenty-one, and in some of the branches his class standing was as follows: Engineering, 16; ethics, 28; infantry tactics, 28; artillery tactics, 25; mineralogy and geology, 17. In his third year, he was appointed a sergeant, an honor which was based upon standing and soldierly bearing, but "the promotion was too much for me," writes Grant, and he served in his last year as a private.

There was one branch, however, in which he was an acknowledged master,—horsemanship. In September, 1839, a riding-master was appointed for the Academy, and proper provision made for mounting the cadets. The boyish fondness for the horse still dominated, and he soon was conceded to be the most accomplished rider at the post. In the presence of General Winfield Scott and the official board of visitors, Grant made a record jump, still known as "Grant's jump on York," in which the horse leaped a bar held high over the head of the soldier who rested it against the wall. General James B. Fry, then a candidate for admission to the Academy, tells vigorously the story of another exploit:

"When the regular service was completed, the class, still mounted, was formed in a line through the centre of the hall. The riding-master placed

that he did not see them in his day, adding, "I had no occasion for any aids in mathematics. The subject was so easy to me as to come almost by intuition." When in 1869 he was told that his son Fred, then a student at the Academy, did not excel in French, Grant promptly remarked, "That is the way it was with his father."

the leaping-bar higher than a man's head, and called out 'Cadet Grant!' A clean-faced, slender, blue-eyed young fellow, weighing one hundred and twenty pounds, dashed from the ranks on a powerfully built chestnut-sorrel horse and galloped down the opposite side of the hall. As he turned at the farther end and came into the stretch across which the bar was placed, the horse increased his pace, and measuring his strides for the great leap before him, bounded into the air and cleared the bar, carrying his rider as if man and beast had been welded together. The spectators were speechless. 'Very well done, sir!' growled old Hershberger, the riding-master, and the class was dismissed and disappeared; but Cadet Grant remained a living image in my memory.

"A few months before graduation one of Grant's classmates, James A. Hardie, said to his friend and instructor: 'Well, sir, if a great emergency arises in this country during our lifetime, Sam Grant will be the man to meet it.' If I had heard Hardie's prediction I doubt not I should have believed it, for I thought the young man who could perform the feat of horsemanship, and who wore a sword, could do anything."

In the life of the Academy, Grant played an inconspicuous, but by no means unimportant, part. He did not seek friends, but those of his class and his intimates all bear witness to the basic qualities of truth, sincerity and purity which attracted them. His early letters to his father and mother are full of

the ideals of patriotism suggested to him by his new life. "I am rendered serious by the impressions which crowd upon me here at West Point. . . . I am full of a conviction of scorn and contempt . . . toward the conduct of any man who at any time could strike at the liberties of such a nation as ours." Referring to a possible recurrence of the treason of Arnold,—"I trust my future conduct in such an hour would prove worthy the patriotic instructions you have given."

"I do love the place," he wrote to his cousin; "it seems as though I could live here forever, if my friends would only come too." In writing his "Memoirs," when the shadow of the grave was close, Grant then remembered that he had so little interest in his military education as to wish that a bill to abolish the Academy, pending in Congress during his first year, might pass; but this was doubtless an old man's recollection of a youthful fit of homesickness. There is no contemporary record which does not show that Grant enjoyed the life in the Academy to the full,—resisting and complaining, as a healthy boy would do, the rigor of its discipline, but nevertheless accepting joyfully the best that it had to give. The attention to details of dress and bearing was doubtless very irksome to his nature. "If I were to come home now with my uniform on, the way you would laugh at my appearance would be curious. My pants set as tight to my skin as the bark to a tree, and if I do not walk military,—that is, if I bend over quickly or run,—they are apt to

crack with a report as loud as a pistol. My coat must always be buttoned up tight to the chin. It is made of sheep's gray cloth, all covered with big round buttons. It makes one look very singular. If you were to see me at a distance, the first question you would ask would be, 'Is that a fish or an animal?'"

West Point does not give much opportunity for leisure to its cadets, but in his free time Grant read extensively of fiction from the books of the library. In company with others, he tried smoking, but gave it up because it made him sick. The favorite student resort was "Benny Havens," a tavern near Highland Falls, and here he was no stranger.

"'Tis said by commentators, when to other worlds we go,
We follow the same handicraft we did in this below.
If this be true philosophy (The Sexton, he says, No),
What days of dance and song we'll have at Benny Havens, O."

There is no evidence, however, of any dissipation during this period, and on the contrary it is stated that Grant was one of a group who took the pledge of total abstinence in order to help a weaker brother.

It is probable that he experienced the usual hazing, which, when it does not degenerate into cruelty, helps the process of education, whereby the undisciplined "plebe" is brought into habits of subordination. Tradition records an occasional fight and once when he had to take a beating from a larger cadet, Grant went into training, and after a second

and third defeat was victorious on the fourth encounter. At one time Grant and the classmate who was afterward his brother-in-law, Frederick T. Dent, had a heated argument on the relative merits of North and South, which terminated in a quarrel. They stripped for a fight, when the absurdity of the situation brought on a laugh, which ended hostilities. Grant became identified with the Dialectic Society, the only literary and debating association at the Academy, and in his last year served as president.

Unquestionably, the best experience of his student life was the furlough, which comes between the second and third year, and which he afterward referred to as "enjoyed beyond any other period of my life." This was a sixty days' vacation, and Grant eagerly turned toward home. His father had recently moved from Georgetown to Bethel, twelve miles away, where he had established another tannery. During part of the journey to the west, Grant traveled with his Grandmother Simpson, and a young lady who was his first sweetheart, and the latter has stated her recollection that his most delightful characteristic was his charming courtesy to his grandmother. His home-coming was joyous to the extreme. His mother's comment was "You've grown much straighter and taller," to which he replied, "Yes, mother, they teach us to be erect at West Point." His father exulted in the improvement in manner and appearance, and indulged more than ever in the exuberance of his paternal pride. A

horse was provided, and in riding, visiting and merrymaking among friends, old and new, the happy days of vacation passed, and the young soldier returned to his work.

During his life at West Point, Grant made many friends from those who were destined to be his associates and opponents in the Civil War. William B. Franklin, afterward Major-General, was the first honor graduate of his class, and among the others who attained military distinction were Isaac F. Quinby, Samuel G. French, Christopher C. Augur, Franklin Gardner, Charles S. Hamilton, Frederick Steele and Rufus Ingalls. In the classes attending from 1839 to 1843 were Sherman, Thomas, Rosecrans, Longstreet, Ewell and Buell. Buckner, Grant's opponent at Fort Donelson, was graduated one year after him, and McClellan in 1846.

When distinction has been won, there are always plenty of prophets "after the fact." There is little reason to believe, however, that his classmates and teachers recognized in Grant the budding genius of a great warrior. It is reported of one of his teachers [1] that, when the class of 1843 was graduated, he made the prophecy,—"the smartest man in the class is little Grant!" In the first days of the Civil War, General Ewell made the comment: "There is one West Pointer whom I hope the Northern people will not find out. I mean Sam Grant. . . . I should fear him more than any of their officers I have yet heard of. He is not a man of genius, but

[1] Professor Davis to General Scammon.

he is clear-headed, quick and daring." Grant himself had once a gleam of the future. "During my first year's encampment," record the "Memoirs," "General Scott visited West Point, and reviewed the cadets. With his commanding figure, his quite colossal size and showy uniform, I thought him the finest specimen of manhood my eyes had ever beheld, and the most to be envied. I could never resemble him in appearance, but I believe I did have a presentiment for a moment that some day I should occupy his place on review—although I had no intention then of remaining in the army."

Most of the recorded comments of his associates lay stress on his personal qualities, rather than his ability. "He had no bad habits whatever," says General D. M. Frost; "he had no facility in conversation with the ladies, a total absence of elegance, and naturally showed off badly in contrast with the young Southern men." "He was a lad without guile," says General Viele. "I never heard him utter a profane or vulgar word." "Perfect was his sense of honor," says General Longstreet. "He had the most scrupulous regard for truth," says Hardie. Perhaps the most complete pen-picture from his fellow-students is that of Henry Coppee, who was two years below him in the Academy, and afterward his biographer:

"I remember him as a plain, common-sense, straightforward youth; quiet, calm, thoughtful, and unaggressive; shunning notoriety; quite contented, while others were grumbling; taking to his military

duties in a very businesslike manner; not a prominent man in the corps, but respected by all, and very popular with his friends. His sobriquet of *Uncle Sam* was given to him there, when every good fellow had a nickname, from these very qualities; indeed, he was a very much liked sort of youth. He was then and always an excellent horseman, and his picture rises before me, as I write, in the old torn coat, obsolescent leather gig-top, loose riding pantaloons, with spurs buckled over them, going with his clanking sabre to the drill-hall. He exhibited but little enthusiasm in anything; his best standing was in the mathematical branches, and their application to tactics and military engineering."

From the faculty, Professor Mahan, long honored as one of the most eminent teachers in the service, has said:

"Grant is remembered at his Alma Mater as having a cheery and at the same time firm aspect and a prompt, decided manner. His class standing was among that grade which has given to the line of the army some of its most valuable officers, like Lyon, Reynolds, Sedgwick, etc. Unlike Lee, subsequently to graduating, he had none of the aids toward distinction which social position in private life and nearness to the commanding general in military life affords. He was what we termed a first section man in all his scientific branches; that is one who accomplishes the full course. He always showed himself a clear thinker and a steady worker. He belonged to the class of compactly strong men who

went at their work at once, and kept at it until they had finished; never being seen like the slack-twisted class, yawning, lolling on their elbows over their work, and looking as if just ready to sink down from mental inanity. Grant's round, cheery, boyish face, though marked with character and quiet manner, gave no evidence of what he has since shown he possesses. His mental machine was of the powerful, low-pressure class, which condenses its own steam and consumes its own smoke; and which pushes steadily forward and drives all obstacles before it."

With his class, he was graduated in June, 1843, as brevet second lieutenant, and although he had expressed a preference for the dragoons, yet as the only cavalry regiment in the service had its full complement of officers, he was assigned to the Fourth U. S. Infantry.

The brand was forged for the using—and the young man was now equipped for the battle of life.

CHAPTER III

ELEVEN YEARS IN THE ARMY

In 1843 the regular army of the United States numbered about 7,500 men, and consequently the Military Academy graduated far more officers than were required by the immediate needs of the service. When Grant received, therefore, a brevet as second lieutenant, it gave him the rank and pay of the grade, but he was assigned to a regiment as a supernumerary. Before proceeding to his post, he enjoyed a three months' furlough, and repeated the pleasures of the vacation, two years before, in his father's home at Bethel. The pride of the family in their soldier may well be imagined, and when at last his uniform arrived, it brought them to the highest round of bliss.

In the "Memoirs," Grant refers to two circumstances which dulled the edge of his boyish satisfaction. In full uniform, he rode to Cincinnati, and while idling around the streets of that city, he attracted the attention of a ragged street-urchin, who derisively sang out, "Soldier! will you work? No, sir-ee; I'll sell my shirt first." At another time in Bethel, a dissipated hostler paraded up and down the street before Grant's home, barefoot, but in sky-blue trousers, with a strip of white cotton sewed down

the outside seams, in imitation of the uniform. These two events, together with an innate aversion to parade, gave the young soldier a distaste for military dress, which was often remarked later in his career.

In September he left his family to report for duty at St. Louis, where sixteen companies were then stationed under the command of Colonel Steven Kearney. Here he had his first taste of real garrison life, with its monotony of roll-call, drill and parade, and here also he met with the real romance of his life. About five miles from the barracks was White Haven, the home of a classmate at the Academy, Frederick T. Dent, who had been his roommate during his fourth year. "Colonel" Dent, as the father was called, had an extensive plantation, and owned enough negroes to enable him to live in characteristic Southern comfort. The oldest daughter, Julia, then a girl of seventeen, soon engaged the attention of the lieutenant, and in the ample leisure which the garrison afforded there developed a mutual affection. The other officers were not unobservant of the course of events, and Longstreet, afterward Lee's chief lieutenant, records how some teased the maiden about the devotion of the "small lieutenant with the large epaulettes."

At this time, Grant had no thought of a permanent life in the army. His ambition was to become a professor, probably of mathematics, in some small college, and as the first step he wrote to Professor Church at West Point asking for a detail to the

Academy as an assistant. The answer was encouraging, and in preparation for the expected assignment, he devoted much of his free time to mathematical study and historical reading. Before this expectation could be realized, however, the long peace which had continued for a generation was broken, and the nation, through the policy of its leaders, found itself committed to what Grant, as well as many others, called the "unholy" war with Mexico.

The attitude of the chronicler toward this conflict must necessarily vary with the standpoint of the writer. To some, the war was founded on an unjust desire for territorial aggrandizement, in order to provide additional room for the expansion of slavery, and the making of slave states. Others regarded it as a heroic conflict, based on the overpowering impulse of fraternity, which led the nation to help those of its own blood to obtain freedom from Mexican interference. There were many who regarded the struggle as merely the natural expression of the desire of the nation to find a western outlet for migration and commerce. Grant accepted the first of these standpoints, and while not an Abolitionist, he nevertheless sympathized with the Mexicans as the under-dog in a contest in which the United States was unquestionably the aggressor.

The circumstances which inaugurated the strife were as follows:—Texas had been peopled largely by Americans who had taken advantage of the liberal offers of the Mexican Government, and

moved there with their slaves and other property. To its territory, the United States had given up any claim by the treaty of 1819 with Spain, and it was regarded as a province of Mexico during all of the troubles which succeeded the overthrow of the Spanish authority. There was little sympathy, either of race, religion or ideal, between the Texan and the Mexican, and eventually the Texans demanded to be separated from Coahuila, with which province their state had been combined by the Mexican Constitution of 1827. This demand was refused, and the Texans rebelled, and by the one victory of San Jacinto in 1836, the Mexican authority was overthrown. At once the Southern leaders demanded that Texas should be admitted as a state of the Union, and while the demand was opposed at the North, the election of 1844 was regarded as a victory for annexation, and on March 1, 1845, President Tyler signed a resolution admitting Texas to the American Union.

As Mexico had never formally recognized the independence of Texas, this action might have been regarded as a *casus belli*, and yet there is good reason to believe that war would have been averted if a moderate policy had been adopted. The immediate cause of the conflict was a boundary dispute. Texas claimed that its southwestern limit was the Rio Grande, while Mexico would concede only to the Neuces River, about one hundred and fifty miles to the east on the coast line. Hostilities therefore were precipitated over the control of a

narrow strip of land between the two rivers, which at this time was almost uninhabited. The Texan question was the leading national problem during Grant's residence at St. Louis, and the determining factor in sending him to the field of battle.

In May, 1844, the garrison at St. Louis was ordered to the South. Having just received a brief furlough, Grant hastened to Bethel, for his last vacation at home for over four years. Upon his return to St. Louis, he found orders to join his regiment, but he took time to ride out to White Haven, and there to declare his love. Fortunately, his affection was reciprocated, and Miss Julia Dent was willing to await her soldier's return,—so with a new-found impulse in life, Grant went down the Mississippi River and overtook the Fourth in the pine woods near Natchitoches, at Fort Salubrity. Here he spent over a year in a healthy, busy, out-of-door life, under most delightful auspices. In May, 1845, he obtained a short leave of absence and went to St. Louis, where he secured the reluctant consent of Colonel Dent to his engagement with Julia. A few days the lovers spent together and then they parted, not to meet again until the war should have been fought, and the knight had fairly won his spurs.

In July, 1845, the regiment was ordered to New Orleans, then in the throes of a yellow fever epidemic, and after two months in barracks, they were shipped by sailing vessels to Texas, landing at Corpus Christi at the mouth of the Neuces River.

Here there was gradually assembled an "Army of Occupation," consisting of about three thousand men, of the regular army, under the command of Zachary Taylor. Several months were spent in organizing this force into a quick-moving column. When the young officers found the ennui of the winter overpowering, they erected a theatre, and Grant participated in amateur theatricals. While in camp here, he received his commission as a full second lieutenant, but as he was now appointed to the Seventh Infantry, he exchanged with Franklin Gardner, afterward Confederate commander at Port Hudson, so as to be returned to his old regiment.

President Polk and his advisers were desirous that the Mexicans should make the first aggressive move, and had hoped that the presence of Taylor's army on the eastern edge of the disputed territory would induce the Mexican forces to attack. This expectation was disappointed, and in March, 1846, Taylor was ordered westward to the Rio Grande. After a few days' march over a desolate country, the Rio Grande was reached, and Taylor at once started the erection of a fort opposite to the Mexican city of Matamoras. At last the Mexicans were aroused, and crossing the river, they attacked any small bodies of Americans who were far from camp. In one of these skirmishes, some Americans were killed, and so finally the President could announce that "American blood had been shed on American soil." A declaration of war resulted, and the conflict thus commenced.

Leaving Major Brown in command of the fort, Taylor marched his main body to his base of supplies on the Gulf, Point Isabel, just above the mouth of the Rio Grande. With some reinforcements, he then started upon his return to Fort Brown, twenty-five miles away. It was evident that the Mexicans had taken advantage of his absence to invest the fort, and had possessed themselves of the intervening country in such numbers as to make a battle inevitable. On May 8th, on approaching the edge of a prairie near a piece of woods about fourteen miles from the fort, Taylor found the enemy drawn up in line of battle. Palo Alto is the Spanish term for "high trees," and here the first battle was fought. Taylor sent forth his artillery, meanwhile halting his men out of the range of the antiquated and poorly-served Mexican cannon. After a few hours' cannonade, the Mexicans withdrew, and made their next stand on May 9th at Resaca de la Palma, on the opposite side of a long narrow pond, flanked by a heavy growth of underbrush, called chaparral. Here a real resistance was made for about two hours, but by judicious flanking movements, and eventually a fervid attack, the Americans succeeded in capturing the cannon of the Mexicans, and the latter fled in panic.

These were Grant's first battles, and they seemed to him to be "pretty important affairs." At Resaca, his captain having been assigned to a special flanking work, he was in command of his company. Once, seeing an opening between two ponds, he

ordered his men to the charge, and took a few prisoners. His chagrin may be imagined, however, when presently an American soldier returned from the front with a wounded officer, and Grant learned that this ground had been already charged over and won. "This left no doubt in my mind," says he, "that the battle of Resaca de la Palma would have been won, just the same, if I had not been there." Writing to a friend shortly after, he said: "You want to know what my feelings were on the field of battle. I do not know that I felt any peculiar sensation. War seems much less terrible to persons engaged in it than to those who read of the battles."

Upon learning of the declaration of war, Taylor transferred his army to the south side of the Rio Grande, and took possession of Matamoras. Here he was joined by substantial reinforcements, including an Ohio regiment, of which the major was Thomas L. Hamer, who, several years before, had nominated Grant to West Point, and who now renewed a loyal friendship with his former neighbor.[1]

[1] In a letter written from Camargo, Hamer said, "I have found in Lieutenant Grant a most remarkable and valuable young soldier. I anticipate for him a brilliant future if he should have an opportunity to display his powers when they mature. Young as he is, he has been of great value and service to me. To-day, after being freed from the duty of wrestling with the problems of reducing a train of refractory mules and their drivers to submissive order, we rode into the country several miles, and taking our position upon an elevated mound, he explained to me many army evolutions; and supposing ourselves to be generals commanding opposite armies, and a battle to be in progress, he explained supposititious manœuvres of the opposing forces in a most instructive way; and when I thought

In August, Taylor marched up the Rio Grande to Camargo, the head of navigation on the river, and then went into the interior, intent upon the capture of Monterey, the leading city of Northern Mexico. At Camargo, Grant was appointed quartermaster and commissary of his regiment. This new duty removed him from the line of battle, and caused several unavailing protests on his part; eventually, however, he found it possible to perform his full duty in this service and yet to participate in the actual fighting.

Monterey was a fortified town of from fifteen to twenty thousand population. It was defended by General Ampudia with about ten thousand men. Taylor, with little more than one-half of this force, sighted the town on September 19, 1846, and at once planned his attack. General Worth, with his division, was assigned the task of storming the Bishop's Palace, approaching from the west by the Saltillo road. The other divisions, under Generals Butler and Twiggs, were drawn up to threaten the north and east sides of the city, in support of the main attack under Worth. The resistance was stubborn, and as all the advantages of position and numbers were with Ampudia, the Americans made but slow headway. Eventually Quitman's Brigade,

his imaginary force had my army routed, he suddenly suggested a strategic move for my forces which crowned them with triumphant victory, and himself with defeat and he ended by gracefully offering to surrender his sword! Of course, Lieutenant Grant is too young for command, but his capacity for future military usefulness is undoubted."

to which the Fourth Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, was attached, forced an entrance at the east end of the city, and fought its way down the main street to the well-fortified plaza. At one time Garland, finding his ammunition running low, called for a volunteer to ride to the division commander, General Twiggs, for new supplies. It was a desperate commission, as the messenger must ride down an avenue in which every crossroad was occupied by well-armed Mexicans. Grant at once offered himself, and riding Indian fashion, with one foot over the saddle and his hand in the horse's mane, rode through a torrent of fire to the commanding officer, and so fulfilled his mission. Eventually, Garland's attack was repulsed, but meanwhile Worth had been approaching from the other side, and by directing his men to break through the flimsy walls of the houses, prevented the Mexicans from utilizing the advantages of their position. When the plaza was reached, Ampudia surrendered and Monterey was fairly won.

The success of Taylor's campaign had aroused much enthusiasm at home, and had given to "Old Rough and Ready," as he was commonly called, an unbounded popularity. It was evident that some political leaders, always keen to appreciate the advantage of military glory in a candidate, were already canvassing the possibilities in his name for the Presidency. Considerations of political expediency, therefore, were not without their influence in determining the administration to send another

army to Mexico, and for the command, General Winfield Scott, the head of the army, although in his sixty-first year, was appointed. He had urged strongly the necessity of striking a blow at the capital city, so as to conclude a peace in the Hall of the Montezumas. When this expedition was finally authorized, Scott withdrew some regiments of regulars from Taylor, including the Fourth Infantry, and even empowered him to fall back to the line of the Rio Grande. But the latter was reluctant to give up the territory which had been won with so much sacrifice, and consequently with his depleted forces, he was exposed to an overwhelming attack from the Mexicans under their President, the enterprising Santa Anna. But in February, 1847, at the battle of Buena Vista, Taylor won a complete victory over an enemy outnumbering his army fourfold, and so closed the campaign in North Mexico with a continuous record of triumphs.

This was the only considerable battle of the war in which Grant was not a participant. In December, 1846, his regiment was sent to the mouth of the Rio Grande to await the assembling of the Army of Invasion. It was March, 1847, before Scott had finally disembarked his men three miles south of Vera Cruz, and a little band of eleven thousand Americans set out to overthrow an empire of seven millions. Vera Cruz, then a walled city with a fortress on an island in the harbor, was the gateway to Mexico. It was quickly invested, and subjected to a vigorous bombardment. After a few days, Gen-

eral Morales indicated a willingness to surrender, and on March 29, 1847, the fortress and city were occupied by the Americans.

Without delaying to enjoy the fruits of victory, Scott decided to push into the interior at once, in order to reach the high and healthy ground before the season of the fever. The City of Mexico was situated about two hundred and sixty miles to the west, and the route which the Americans adopted involved the occupation of Jalapa and Puebla, both populous and important cities. In the second week of April, the invaders started on their western march, but on April 18th, when they arrived at Cerro Gordo, about twelve or fifteen miles east of Jalapa, they found the Mexicans entrenched in a position of great natural strength. The road here zigzagged around a high mountain, and was defended at every turn by artillery, and protected on the sides by chasms or mountain walls. Since direct progress was blocked, the engineers cut paths over the mountains to the rear of the Mexicans, and placed artillery in position to command the enemy, traveling by paths which Santa Anna confessed that he did not think even a goat could have used. Whereupon, the greater portion of the Mexican forces fled in disorder, leaving artillery, stores and three thousand prisoners. Years afterward, in commenting upon Scott's superb leadership, Grant said of Cerro Gordo, "This attack was made as ordered, and perhaps there was not a battle of the Mexican War, or any other, where orders issued before an

engagement were nearer being a correct report of what afterward took place."

"Between the thrashing the Mexicans have got at Buena Vista, Vera Cruz and Cerro Gordo, they are so completely broken up that if we only had transportation we could go to the City of Mexico and wherever else we liked without resistance." So wrote Grant to a friend on May 3d, when the army was recuperating in the high ground around Jalapa. Here Scott was obliged to delay several months awaiting reinforcements to take the place of the men whose period of enlistment had expired. At one time his army was reduced to 5,000 men, but he pushed forward his advance guard to Perote and Puebla, and by August he had received sufficient forces to enable him to renew his triumphant march.

The City of Mexico is situated in a wide, flat valley, 7,000 feet above sea-level, surrounded by mountains and lakes in a position of great natural strength. Having determined upon his line of approach, Scott, on August 20th, made his initial attack on the village of Contreras, when the Americans advanced with such impetuosity as to rout the enemy in fifteen minutes. At the same time another division was advancing on the causeway which led to the village of Churubusco, and here the Americans encountered the most stubborn resistance of the campaign. But the valor of the invaders, and the strategy of their commanders, which later Grant pronounced to be "faultless," culminated in the usual result, and the Mexicans gave up their posi-

tion with great loss in numbers, equipment and morale. Negotiations were now opened for peace, and for a few weeks the armies rested; but Scott soon concluded that the enemy was sparring for time, and on September 8th, the advance was resumed with an attack by Worth's division upon Molino del Rey, or "The King's Mills." Scott had heard that this place was used as a cannon foundry, and so desired to take possession of it. When the Mexicans were finally driven into the mill, Grant, who was in the forefront of the charge, found his classmate Dent seriously wounded, and by his coolness and skill in all human probability saved the life of his future brother-in-law.

The last defense of the capital was the castle of Chapultepec, a strongly manned fortress on an eminence, formerly used as a military academy. On September 13th, the invaders stormed this position, and after a battle in which the resistance was unusually prolonged, won what proved to be the final victory of the war. Here two opportunities for personal distinction came to Grant, both of which he accepted with the readiness of the resourceful soldier. In the retreat from Chapultepec, Grant was with the advance of his division, when at a turn in the road the Americans were blocked by the fierce fire of the Mexicans. By a personal reconnoitre he found a path to the rear of the enemy's position, under the protection of the wall of a hacienda, and with a few men, who willingly followed his leadership, he placed the Mexicans un-

der two fires and so forced their position. Later in the pursuit he took possession of the church on the San Cosme road and dragged a mountain howitzer over several ditches breast-high with water to the top of the bell-tower, thus enabling him to shell the houses and roads in which the Mexicans were massed, to the astonishment and dismay of the enemy. The success of this enterprise was noted by General Worth, who sent a staff officer, Lieutenant Pemberton, afterward Grant's opponent at Vicksburg, to bring Grant to him, and then directed that a second howitzer be placed in the tower. "I did not tell the General that there was not room enough in the steeple for another gun," says Grant, who never regarded Worth with favor, "because he probably would have looked upon such a statement as a contradiction from a second lieutenant."

Successive victories had broken the fighting spirit of the Mexicans. During the night Santa Anna fled with the remnant of his army, and on September 14th General Scott in triumph marched into the city.

Of all that took place in these stirring times Grant was a close observer. General Taylor with his simplicity and sturdiness, General Scott with his love of parade and martial glory, the various division and regimental commanders,—from all of these he was able to learn valuable lessons in the conduct of war. His long service as quartermaster gave him an unusual insight into the organization of an army, and the management of its business, which later on

was to contribute greatly to his effectiveness as a commander. He now had also his first opportunity to observe the life of a foreign people, and his experiences during the nine months' occupation of the City of Mexico, while the terms of peace were being determined, gave him a warm admiration for the Mexican, which was often asserted in later life. Unlike some of his associates, he did not underrate the enemy, and brand him with cowardice. He saw clearly that the successive Mexican defeats were due to administrative disorganization, inefficient leadership, and to a lack of national consciousness. "The trouble seemed to be the lack of experience among the officers which led them after a time to simply quit, without being particularly whipped, but because they had fought enough."

While the capital was occupied by the Americans, Grant, from curiosity, attended a bull-fight, and recorded that "the sight to me was sickening." In company with a party of other officers, he ascended Popocatepetl, the great volcano, and later went through the famous Mexican caves. In the City of Mexico the invaders organized the Aztec Club, of which Franklin Pierce was the first president, and whose original membership included McClellan, Hooker, Porter, Lee, Johnston, Beauregard, Hardee, Ewell and Grant. There were many opportunities for Grant to become well acquainted with these leaders, among whom later on, in the Civil War, he was destined to win his imperishable renown.

Meanwhile, Grant was attracting the attention of his superiors. In September, 1847, he was advanced to a first lieutenancy, and when the final reports of the military operations were prepared, it was found that he was personally commended for gallantry and resourcefulness by Captain Horace Brooks, of the Second Artillery, Major Lee, of the Fourth Infantry, and General Garland, of his brigade. And in the report of General Worth, his work with the mountain howitzer at Chapultepec was mentioned. As quartermaster, he showed his enterprise in renting a bakery and operating it for the benefit of the regiment, so providing funds for the band. On the return from Mexico, however, he met with a misfortune which caused him considerable annoyance and chagrin. As the lock of his chest was broken, he deposited $1,000 of the funds of the regiment with Captain Gore, and one night the latter's trunk, containing this deposit, was stolen from his tent. Grant at once reported the loss, and forwarded corroborative affidavits, and he was exonerated from all blame. Not until 1862, however, in the early days of the Civil War, was a resolution finally passed in Congress releasing the quartermaster from all personal liability in the matter.

The war with Mexico was ended on February 2, 1848, by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ceded Texas, California, New Mexico and Arizona to the United States, as well as a large portion of several other states, upon payment of $15,000,-

000.[1] Some months elapsed before the treaty was finally ratified, but in June, 1848, the army started on its return to Vera Cruz. Grant's regiment was ordered to Mississippi, but he obtained a leave of absence, and at once returned to St. Louis to fulfil a promise of four years' standing. During this period he had attained to honorable distinction and had rendered special service on three different battle-fields,—he had won his first promotion and two brevets for gallantry, and he had a personal claim to a cordial welcome from the family at White Haven, because of his service at Molino to the brother of his betrothed. On August 22, 1848, the young couple, whose fidelity had been tested by four years of separation, were quietly married,[2] and Grant at once took his bride to the East on a visit to his own family. A few happy weeks were spent with Jesse Grant at Bethel, and later with relatives at Bantam and Georgetown. From his old neighbors, Grant received a welcome whose cordiality showed their pride in his excellent start. His

[1] Extract from General Scott's testimony before a Congressional Committee: "I give it as my fixed opinion, that but for our graduated cadets, the war between the United States and Mexico might, and probably would, have lasted some four or five years, with, in its first half, more defeats than victories falling to our share; whereas, in less than two campaigns, we conquered a great country and a peace, without the loss of a single battle or skirmish."

[2] Among the young officers who attended the wedding were Cadmus M. Wilcox, who was one of the groomsmen, and James Longstreet, both of whom were afterward officers in the Confederate Army, and included in the surrender at Appomattox.

father and mother rejoiced, the latter more quietly than the former, in the promise of his career. His stories of the war were clearly told, and all of the stay-at-homes crowded to listen. These were halcyon days!

On November 17, 1848, Lieutenant Grant joined his regiment at Detroit, and a few days afterward, was ordered to Sacketts Harbor, on Lake Ontario, where he and Mrs. Grant lived in the barracks until the following spring. In April he returned to Detroit for two years of garrison duty. There is but little to record of this period of his service. He lived very modestly, but his quarters were cozy and homelike. He was always sociable and attended with his wife the various functions of the officers of the garrison. His love of fast horses was his only special characteristic, and generally caused his only extravagances. At Sacketts Harbor he attended church, and aided in organizing a lodge of the Sons of Temperance at the barracks. He once remarked to a friend in refusing to join a drinking party, "I heard John B. Gough lecture a short time ago, and I have become convinced that there is no safety from ruin by liquor except by abstaining from it altogether." His Mexican experiences gave him abundant subjects for conversation, and his clear and vivid explanations of the campaigns helped him to establish a reputation for sociability among his comrades. In 1850, Mrs. Grant returned for a time to her father's home, where a son was born, who was named Frederick Dent Grant, and so the

perfect joy of married life was finally attained.[1] Afterward the mother and child came back to the garrison, and the reunited family spent a happy winter together. An unusual incident brought Grant into a controversy with Zachary Chandler, then a rising young merchant, but later a national leader of the Republican party. Grant filed a sworn complaint against Chandler for violating a local ordinance requiring the removal of ice from the sidewalk, but although he proved his case, public sympathy with the civilian induced a fine of but six cents and costs!

Nothing detracts so much from the enjoyment of domestic life by an army officer as the uncertainty of his location. In June, 1851, Grant was again ordered to Sacketts Harbor, in preparation for removal to the Pacific coast, where the tremendous emigration had brought about problems which necessitated the maintenance of extensive garrisons. The final orders came in the spring of 1852, and as the regiment was to be transported by way of Panama, the hardship of travel made it impossible for the wife and child to accompany him. So it was decided that Grant should go alone, and his family returned to Bethel (where the second son, Ulysses S., Jr., was born), and later went to White Haven.

On July 5, 1852, eight companies of the Fourth embarked from Governor's Island, New York, on

[1] Afterward a graduate of West Point and Major-General in the Army of the United States.

the steamer *Ohio*. There were over eight hundred in the expedition including women and children, as well as civilian passengers, and for several days they endured all of the discomforts of ocean travel in tropical weather, with insufficient accommodation. At Aspinwall on the east side of the Isthmus, they found but scanty transportation provided, and Grant, as quartermaster, was obliged to assume entire charge of the business arrangements of the party. When eventually they reached the Pacific, the cholera was raging and many died,—thirty-seven in one day. "About one-seventh of those who left New York harbor with the Fourth Infantry . . . now lie buried on the Isthmus," said Grant. The epidemic threw a heavy responsibility on the young commissary, and right manfully did he meet it. Hospital facilities were to be provided, medicine to be supplied, the dead must be buried and their effects cared for, and all of the details were in his hands. Later on, one who had taken this unfortunate trip said: "Grant seemed to be a man of iron, so far as endurance went, seldom sleeping, and then only two or three hours at a time. . . . He was like a ministering angel to us all."

When the plague had run its course, the survivors were taken to San Francisco, and then after several weeks to Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River, where Grant served for one year. In July, 1853, in the performance of his duties as quartermaster, he fitted out the expedition for the first survey of the

Northern Pacific Railroad, then under the charge of George B. McClellan, and for several weeks these two young officers were in close association. The life at Vancouver was not congenial to Grant; he had enjoyed domestic life so keenly in the prior period that now he felt to an unusual degree the absence of his family. Once he showed to an old artillery sergeant a letter whereon his wife had laid the baby's hand and traced its outline with a pencil, and his friend records that as he folded the letter, while he said nothing, his eyes were wet. Moreover, with an increasing family, there were weighty responsibilities. In order to add to his income he entered into business ventures which, with the fatality that followed him through life, resulted invariably in loss. In association with Lieutenant Wallen, he rented a piece of ground and planted potatoes as a speculation; but others had done the same, so the market was over-supplied, and eventually when the river floods washed away their crop, the farmers rejoiced. He went into a partnership with his classmate, Rufus Ingalls, to cut and ship ice to San Francisco, but adverse winds held back their boat until the ice was of little value. He next became interested in buying and selling hogs, and lost some of his small savings in this venture. At length he was promoted to a captaincy, and ordered to Fort Humboldt, two hundred and forty miles north of San Francisco. Here he served during the winter of 1853–1854, until April, when, discouraged by the outlook and dis-

appointed with himself, he determined to retire from the army.

He was now to learn the first essential of success, —the necessity of self-conquest!

CHAPTER IV

THE YEARS OF UNFULFILLED PROMISE

WHENEVER a man turns aside from a work in which he has made a good start, and begins along new lines, he loses impact and momentum; especially is this the case when the career he abandons is one for which a special or professional training is required. No part of Grant's life has caused more controversy than the period of seven years from the beginning of his service at Fort Humboldt to the outbreak of the Civil War, and especially the reasons which led him to resign from the army. No consideration of hero-worship can justify a garbled version of the facts, and the truth only can give a proper understanding of his character.

During the period of Grant's life on the Pacific, he found himself identified with a society which was new and unformed, and in large measure primitive and turbulent. The tremendous migration, following upon the discovery of gold in California, had made the West the haven for wild and adventurous spirits, not only of America, but of Europe as well. The standards of life were yet to be adopted, and there was no well-defined social tone to keep conduct under restraint. Many of the soldiers drank,

some to excess, and it is not strange that the young captain, far removed from the wholesome influence of wife and family, also yielded to temptation. He was not an habitual drunkard, but occasionally he would drink too much,—he afterward learned that a little would go far in the mastery of his peculiar system. He had not the capacity which was attributed to a distinguished contemporary in the service, of whom it was said that he could consume five bottles of champagne at one sitting, and then plan a battle! When Grant's friends remonstrated with him, he acknowledged his error and would promise amendment. But at Fort Humboldt he came under influences which were specially chilling to one suffering as he was from loneliness and homesickness. The commander of the post, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert C. Buchanan, was a martinet of an unusually unsympathetic type. Tradition records of him that he once refused to receive an officer's report, declaring that the latter was not in uniform,—all because his collar had become unhooked,—and not until some other had pointed out the fault to the unfortunate subordinate was he allowed to proceed with his duty. Moreover, Grant was no longer serving as quartermaster, and he had more free time than he had been accustomed to; the ordinary pleasures of a garrison,—dancing and social life,—did not appeal to him, and he sought his recreation in long hard rides, generally without a companion.

One day, in 1854, while the company was being paid off, Grant was at the pay-table slightly under

the influence of liquor. He was not on duty; his offense might have been made the basis for friendly counsel which, to the lonely and discouraged man, would have been most welcome. But when Buchanan heard of this breach, he at once sent for Grant and gave him the option between resigning or standing trial on charges. Grant forthwith resigned, and this ended his connection with the service. Among his fellow-officers, it was felt that Buchanan had been unnecessarily harsh, and it was the general feeling that if Grant had stood trial, he might not have been condemned.[1]

The records of the Adjutant-General's office at Washington show that Grant accepted his commission as captain on April 11, 1854, and on the same day forwarded his resignation to take effect on July 31st. Jefferson Davis was then Secretary of War, and acting upon the recommendation of the various departmental chiefs, he accepted the resignation, and so for a time Grant's connection with the army ceased. There is not a syllable in the correspondence which indicates any reason for the retirement.

It is probable that Grant reached this important conclusion without any advice or suggestion from those at home, although two years before, when ordered to the Pacific, he had considered resigning from the service. Jesse Grant had no intimation of his son's action, until the final letter from

[1] See "The Truth About Grant" in *The Army and Navy Journal*, for June 6, 1908,—Vol. XLV, p. 1100.

Davis was delivered at his home at Bethel, and he wrote a characteristic letter to Washington in the vain hope that the matter might be reopened.[1] But

[1] In Hamlin Garland's "Ulysses S. Grant, His Life and Character," an abundance of new biographical matter has been collected, through the industry of the author, and among other letters, the following:

"*Bethel, Claremont County, June* 1, 1854.

"*Hon. Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War,*

"DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the 7th instant enclosing acceptance of the resignation of my son, Captain U. S. Grant, was received a few days ago through Thomas A. Ellyson. That was the first intimation I had of his intention to resign.

"If it is consistent with your powers and the good of the servis I will be much gratified if you would reconsider and withdraw the acceptance of his resignation and grant him a six months' leave that he may come home and see his family.

"I never wished him to leave the servis. I think after spending so much time to qualify himself for the army and spending so many years in the servis he will be poorly qualified for the pursuits of private life.

"He has been eleven years an officer, was in all the battles of Generals Taylor and Scott except Buena Vista, never absent from his post during the Mexican War and has never had a leave of six months, would it then be asking too much for him to have such leave that he may come home and make arrangements for taking his family with him to his post.

"I will remark that he has not seen his family for over two years and has a son nearly two years old he has never seen. I suppose in his great anxiety to see his family he has been ordered to quit the servis.

"Please write me and let me know the results of this request, and,

"Respectfully, your obt. servt.,

"J. R. GRANT."

On the back of this letter appears the following endorsement:

"Capt. Grant's tender of resignation assigns no reason for his wish to leave the service and the motives which influenced him to take the step are not known; he merely desired that the

the action was irrevocable, and his son was now to embark on a new career, in which the disappointments and failures in material progress would be compensated only by the growth in character and will.

Grant left Fort Humboldt with a strong liking for the West. Until the latter days of the Civil War, it was his hope some day to return to the Pacific coast with his family. But meanwhile, his problem was to earn a livelihood, and the first necessity was to find work. When he arrived at San Francisco, he was obliged to wait for transportation for several weeks, and during this time he unfortunately trusted his small savings to a friend, who promised him a large rate of interest. When the time of payment drew near, the debtor decamped, and Grant found himself almost penniless.

It is probable that at this time he passed through the darkest hours of his life, when he realized the combination of circumstances which had made him fortune's plaything. Some of his army friends,

resignation should take effect July 31, 1854, and it was accepted accordingly by the Secretary of War, June 2d, and the notification sent out to the army the same day.

"Respectfully submitted,

"W. G. FREEMAN,

"*Acting Adjutant-General.*

"June 27, 1854."

Below this appears, in the handwriting of Jefferson Davis, the final entry:

"Answer with endorsement.

"J. D."

however, came to his relief, and provided for his transportation and expenses to New York, and when he arrived at that city, again some of the officers, among whom was Captain Simon B. Buckner, afterward Confederate commander at Fort Donelson, raised a fund to take him to Bethel. There can be little doubt but that his home-coming was very different from that of six years before. Jesse Grant was keenly disappointed in his son, and showed it in all that he said and did. "West Point spoiled one of my sons for business," he would say, and he showed little disposition to be generous to one whom he regarded as a failure. In the development of character it is probable that this was most wholesome discipline for the young man; it was necessary so that when the next opportunity came it should not be trifled with. Somehow the iron must be driven into his soul, yet Grant, while remembering with gratitude the devotion and faith of his mother at this time, was always pained to recollect the lack of sympathy which he received from his father and brothers in this hour of dejection and discouragement.

From Bethel he proceeded to St. Louis, and at White Haven he was once more reunited with his wife and family. Colonel Dent had a large plantation of about one thousand acres. In 1848, upon the marriage of his daughter, he had given her a tract of eighty acres as a wedding present. He now loaned Grant $1,000 as a basis for his future work, and with dauntless hearts the young couple started

out to earn a living. For the first winter they lived with Colonel Dent, and meanwhile Grant worked on the farm as an ordinary laborer. But the next year he went to the tract belonging to his wife, and with some assistance from kindly neighbors, he cut the logs and built a cabin of four rooms, which, in memory of the struggle, he called "Hard Scrabble." It was more ambitious than the ordinary cabin of the neighborhood, being cozy and homelike, and here the family lived comfortably for three years. During this time Grant farmed, aided by three negro servants, two horses and a cow; he cut and hauled cord-wood and timbering for the adjacent mines, and gradually worked his land with some success. Domestically, it was a happy period, especially for a man in whom the family affections had been starved during long years of absence, but there was little material advance. Grant could see no future in this kind of life, and as his family increased,[1] and expenses multiplied, he was anxious to be established permanently in some new line. Moreover, he suffered greatly from malaria, and after a prolonged attack it seemed necessary to abandon the farm-life for the city.

In his "Memoirs" Grant summarized this portion of his career in few words:

"In the late summer of 1854 I rejoined my family,

[1] His children were as follows:
1. Frederick Dent, born at St. Louis, 1850.
2. Ulysses Simpson, Jr., born at Bethel, 1852.
3. Nellie, born near St. Louis, 1855.
4. Jesse Root, born near St. Louis, 1858.

to find in it a son whom I had never seen, born while I was on the Isthmus of Panama. I was now to commence, at the age of thirty-two, a new struggle for our support. My wife had a farm near St. Louis, to which we went, but I had no means to stock it. A house had to be built also. I worked very hard, never losing a day because of bad weather, and accomplished the object in a moderate way. If nothing else could be done, I would load a cord of wood on a wagon and take it to the city for sale. I managed to keep along very well until 1858, when I was attacked by fever and ague. I had suffered very severely and for a long time from this disease while a boy in Ohio. It lasted now over a year, and, while it did not keep me in the house, it did interfere greatly with the amount of work I was able to perform. In the fall of 1858 I sold out my stock, crops and farming utensils at auction, and gave up farming."

When Grant returned to St. Louis, he bore the marks of sickness and toil. Work and worry had aged him greatly, and his youth was gone, but in its place he had obtained a self-mastery which, added to his inherited reserve and restraint, made him eventually a man of force and power. During the next two years, he worked in several lines with indifferent success, impressing all who knew him with his honesty and sincerity of purpose, but also suggesting an inaptitude for ordinary business life so strong that eventually it proved characteristic. Colonel Dent soon found an opening for his son-in-

law in the real estate business, in partnership with Henry Boggs, also a family connection. The firm of "Boggs and Grant" rented desk-room in the offices of McClelland, Hilyer and Moody, attorneys, and bought and sold realty, collected loans and rents, etc. Some Eastern capital was secured by the senior partner, to be loaned on mortgage, at the higher rate of interest prevailing in the West. For a time the business prospered, but other firms entering into the same field divided the profits, and there was not a sufficient income to support two families,—so Boggs presently concluded that he could work alone to better advantage.

There can be no question but that this decision of his partner was a great blow to Grant. He had worked hard and faithfully, but he was not a success at collecting rents from the poor, and he had no genius for real estate speculation. One of his friends who had promised to purchase a house from him afterward was obliged to cancel the agreement, and thus described Grant's dismay,—"His countenance was transformed to severe sadness. He could hardly utter a word, so intense was his disappointment." Writing to Jesse Grant, in August, 1859, he said, "I do not want to fly from one thing to another; nor would I; but I am compelled to make a living from the start, for which I am willing to give all my time and all my energy."

His next efforts were along wholly different lines. Jesse Grant urged him to try for a vacant professorship of mathematics at Washington University, but

the son recognized the folly of an application when as yet there was no achievement in scientific lines, nor publications to testify to scholarly fitness. He did apply, however, for the position of county engineer, and submitted a statement of his qualifications from his classmate at West Point, Prof. J. J. Reynolds, and an endorsement signed by thirty-five representative citizens of the county. The appointment was to be made by a board of five commissioners, and at this time a majority were Republicans. Politics eventually governed the decision, and as Grant had voted for Buchanan, and was known as a Democrat, and as his father-in-law was a slaveholder and pro-southern in his sympathies, his claims were set aside in favor of C. E. Salomon. Later, Grant secured a position in the custom-house, but within a month the collector died, and he was again thrown out of employment. These distressing experiences, aided perhaps by a growing lack of congeniality in his relations with Colonel Dent, brought him to the conclusion that there was no future in St. Louis, and again he appealed to his father.

There have been many biographical fables about Grant's life in St. Louis, and some of those who have been impressed by the success of his later life have felt it necessary to describe this period as a time of extreme poverty. Unquestionably, tested by contemporary standards, Grant was a business failure; he had not succeeded in establishing himself in any settled line of occupation, and hence his

future was as yet uncertain; he had incurred debts, especially during his last year, and the opportunity for their discharge was not at hand. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude from these facts that he lived either in want or destitution. He described the home to his father as follows: "We are now living in the lower part of the city, fully two miles from my office. The house is a comfortable little one, just suited to my means. We have one spare room, and also a spare bed in the children's room, so that we can accommodate any of our friends that are likely to come to see us. I want two of the girls [his sisters] or all of them for that matter, to come and pay us a long visit soon."

Even when in great financial necessity he could contribute a load of wood to a German neighbor, who had lost his all by fire. When the new church was to be built, he could help with a substantial donation. It was his lack of aggressiveness in the pursuit of money which caused his failure, and led to a low estimate of the man and his abilities. General Sherman once said,—"I recall an instance when I met Grant in St. Louis, in 1857, when he was a farmer in the county, and I, too, was out of the military service. The only impression left on my memory is that I then concluded that West Point and the regular army were not good schools for farmers, bankers, merchants and mechanics."

It was not easy for the son who had thus failed to turn to his self-reliant and censorious father for

aid. Jesse Grant was now a successful man. Six years later when he retired from active business he was worth over $100,000, a large sum in those days, and this was the result of his ability to recognize an opportunity, and his shrewdness in bargaining. His own success in business made him the more critical of a son who with far better training and a larger outlook could not imitate his example. For a time, Jesse Grant refused to help in his son's struggle, but in the spring of 1860, he made a suggestion that brought about a change both in employment and residence.

Jesse Grant now lived at Covington, Ky., where his tannery was located, but a branch of his extensive business had been established in Galena, Ill., and was conducted by the younger sons, Simpson and Orvil. These boys had succeeded well, but Simpson was failing in health, and suffering from the disease which in the next year brought him to an untimely grave. This left an opening for Ulysses, and he was offered a place in the store at an annual salary of $600, with however an opportunity for a share in the business. He gladly accepted, and in April, 1860, he and his family embarked their household effects on a river-boat, and bade farewell to St. Louis.

Galena was at this time a healthy Western city of 6,000 or 7,000 inhabitants, situated on the river of that name about four miles above its junction with the Mississippi, and located in the heart of the lead district of Illinois. Jesse Grant conducted here

a wholesale leather business, originally founded in 1840 by E. A. Collins, with whom he had formed a partnership; but in 1853 there was a dissolution, and Jesse purchased the business. Henceforth the title was wholly in him, and the management was intrusted to his sons. Writing from Covington in 1868, the elder Grant says,—"After Ulysses's farming and real estate experiments failed to be self-supporting, he came to me at this place for advice and assistance. I referred him to Simpson, my next oldest son, who had charge of my Galena business, and who was staying with me at that time on account of poor health. Simpson sent him to the Galena store to stay until something better should turn up in his favor, and told him he would be allowed a salary of eight hundred (originally six hundred) dollars per annum. . . . That amount would have supported his family then, but he owed debts at St. Louis, and did draw fifteen hundred dollars in the year, but he soon paid back the balance after he went into the army."

The leather business had a capital of about $100,000, and its annual receipts were about the same amount. The house purchased domestic leather, and sold shoe-findings, saddlery, French calf, fancy linings and morocco. His brothers assigned to Ulysses clerical work, in which his aptitude for mathematics made him proficient, and some buying and selling, reserving for themselves the more important bargaining. His personal relations with Simpson were very cordial,—

"A more honorable man never transacted business," was the tribute to him in the "Memoirs."

During the next year Grant lived quietly and happily at Galena. His home was on a bluff two hundred feet above the river, and every day he climbed the wooden steps which led to this elevation. With his wife, he attended the Methodist Church, and although not himself a member, he was as regular as many communicants. He enjoyed the life of the town, and as in St. Louis, he was afterward recollected chiefly for his stories of the Mexican War, his accounts of the West and sometimes his trenchant comments on a military problem. His army overcoat of blue, purchased on the Pacific coast in more prosperous days, became well known as the distinguishing mark of the ex-soldier. Once he traveled for ten days in Wisconsin and Iowa, purchasing hides for the business. And gradually the conviction developed in his mind that here was his life-work, not indeed in the tanning, from which his boyish heart had turned, but in the kindred business, in association with his own family. Writing to a friend, in December, 1860, he said,—"In my new employment I have become pretty conversant, and am much pleased with it. I hope to be a partner pretty soon."

Meanwhile, chance and circumstance were again to take their hand in Grant's career. The problem of slavery had brought the question of secession into every one's mind and the future of the Union

was the great topic. While in St. Louis, Grant's affiliations were naturally with the slave owners, especially as represented by his wife's family. In Galena, although the town was Democratic, he found a strong anti-slavery sentiment. In journeying around the northwest, he encountered the vigorous pioneer loyalty to the flag and devotion to freedom which eventually were to be welded into a mighty and efficient military force. All of these influences reacted upon Grant's mind, gave him an insight into the turmoil of the nation, and so helped to prepare him for the next stage of his career.

The great crisis was now fast approaching,—when the power and indomitable will of the quiet leather-salesman would make him the nation's hero!

CHAPTER V

THE NATIONAL CRISIS

DURING the seven years which followed Grant's retirement from the army, a great change had come over the spirit of our nation, and now the crisis of its history was imminent.

The census of 1860 made manifest many signs of material progress. There was a total population of 31,443,321, of which 5,407,220 whites, 127,760 free negroes, and 3,521,120 slaves owned by approximately 350,000 slaveholders, were in the eleven states of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, North Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee, which afterward formed the Southern Confederacy. But while the increase in national prosperity during the previous decade had been great, it would be futile to deny that there had developed a line of cleavage in political and social ideas which separated the Union into two clearly defined political entities.

The South was in a large measure agricultural, and several of its states were devoted to the raising of cotton and rice, in which negro labor was almost exclusively used. Those districts of the South which were not directly interested in cotton pro-

duced slaves who were sold to the great plantations, as the demand for slave labor increased. "Under the influence of climate, soil and a system of forced African labor, the Southern states irresistibly reverted to the patriarchal conditions, becoming more and more agricultural; and, as is always the case with agricultural races and patriarchal communities, they cling ever more closely to their traditions and local institutions."[1] As a result, there was a personal loyalty to the state as the sovereign, and a devotion to the local units of government which permeated every class of society. Only on this principle can the heroic struggle of the South in the defense of its social institutions be explained, when it is recollected that less than one out of every sixteen whites in the seceding states was a slaveholder.

But in the North there had been a great change since the revolutionary days in the development of a national consciousness. The railroad, the public school, the newspaper, the growth of manufactures which demanded more than a local market, the influence of immigrants from European countries in whom the race-tradition accented the idea of nationality, an expansion of commerce which required the protection of a national flag, a continuous western migration from the older communities to the new,—all of these forces, and many others, had finally welded together a sentiment which has been

[1] Charles Francis Adams in "Studies, Military and Diplomatic," "The Ethics of Secession," p. 22.

called a "National Will," and this desire for Union found its expression in a fine loyalty to the federal government as its chief exponent. These two conceptions of political life developed in the country, side by side, in the thirty years preceding the Civil War, and the striking and significant fact upon which, a half-century later, the stress is being laid, is that in the main the conception of the South was the original American idea, and that the change came in the North, where the development from an agricultural to a manufacturing and commercial status had brought about a consequent alteration in the political ideas of the people, as their vision enlarged from the provincial and local, until they perceived not only the glory but also the absolute necessity of the national idea.

The fundamental difference between the two branches of the American people was, in theory, a question of sovereignty,—was the supreme unit of government to be found in the state or the nation? But the dispute waged with even greater intensity and bitterness over a practical question,—the position of slavery under the law. In the South, the slave was property, to be protected under the law, and to be taken freely into every part of the national domain, without let or hindrance. But in the North, a strong moral conscience had developed which, in harmony with the prevailing tone of European civilization, denounced all property of man in man as morally wrong. The extremists among the Abolitionists saw nothing commendable

in the South or its institutions and even favored the disruption of the Union as a protest against partnership in crime. There had been a tremendous development of public sentiment in the North during the Kansas-Nebraska struggle and while the men of moderate views were far removed from the Abolitionists, yet the election of 1860 showed that an overwhelming majority in the North was strongly opposed to any extension of the slave domain, especially in the territories of the Union.

Between these two attitudes, there might have been found some middle course. Certainly, the national idea and the opposition to slavery were growing so much more rapidly than the opposing convictions, that if civil strife could have been averted for one generation, it is easy to conceive that a proposition for gradual emancipation with compensation to slaveholders might have been worked out. Moreover, even a brief breathing-space would have given opportunity for impressing upon the Southern mind the economic wastefulness of slavery as a method of industrial organization, and this argument should have been just as convincing first as last—after four years of warfare. Unfortunately for the peaceful solution of the problem, both branches of the American people were dominated by extremists, and they would be content only with a complete and immediate triumph for their views. There were few who could ascend to the breadth of vision and toleration which characterized Lincoln, when he said, in 1854,—"They (the South) are just

what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist among us, we should not instantly give it up. I surely will not blame them for doing what I should not know how to do myself." This was a wise message to a contending world, in which one group menacingly declared that slavery was ordained of God, while the other replied with equal insistence that it was the special creation of the Devil.

The election of Lincoln, while a distinct triumph for the opponents of slavery, presented an opportunity for moderate counsels, which the South should have recognized. Unfortunately, public sentiment among the slaveholders was even more excitable than in the North, and there was a most complete misconception of the capacity and attitude of their opponents, based upon ignorance and provincialism. "The Southern mind was influenced and misguided by a class of public men, politicians, not statesmen, newspaper editors, and preachers, who possessed far more ambition and zeal than wisdom and knowledge. By their power over the passions and prejudices of the multitude, they precipitated the Southern people into reassumption of their independence as states, more as an escape from anticipated wrongs than from actual grievance."[1]

As a result of this leadership, the South believed that their opponents would not fight, and that the basis of political society in the North was so selfish

[1] "Recollections of Alexander H. Stephens," p. 326.

and materialistic that its men were incapable of heroic self-sacrifice for an ideal. In almost every village, it was proclaimed that "one Southerner could whip a half-dozen Yankees and not half try," and that "Cotton was King," so that the civilized world could not exist without the products of the South, and would join forces in overwhelming resistance to any power which would attempt to interfere with its trade.

It was this vainglorious attitude which forced the fighting. The abstract question of States' Rights might have been committed eventually to the field of legal disputation. It is conceivable that the pressure of economic necessity might have eventually led to a complete change in the status of the slave; but when the two large sections of the nation, both equally brave and sensitively proud, regarded each other with mutual bitterness and contempt, the appeal to arms could not long be averted. The South was taught to regard the election of Lincoln as an insult to Southern pride and a menace to Southern institutions, and their leaders were not willing to wait for the development of his real policy. William T. Sherman had lived in the South; from his school in Louisiana he witnessed the preparations for secession and war, and when his loyalty to the Union required that he should resign his post, he wrote to his brother: "I do regret this political imbroglio. I do think it was brought about by politicians."

But if neither side was willing to listen to reason,

neither yielded to the other in profound self-confidence. In April, 1861, at the flag-raising of the Stars and Bars in Montgomery, Ala., the Confederate Secretary of War pledged himself to the excited crowd to raise the same flag over Faneuil Hall in Boston. When Davis dispatched an officer to England to buy arms for the war, he was instructed to purchase but 10,000 Enfield rifles! In the North, after the firing on Sumter, the cry of "On to Richmond" was equally persistent, and led to the early disaster at Bull Run. There were few, on either side, who really comprehended all aspects of the problem which so nearly wrecked the nation, and there were fewer still who understood what war meant.

During the excitement of these troublous times Grant lived quietly at Galena. His residence in Illinois was too recent to qualify him to vote at the election, and consequently he was not active in the presidential campaign. If he had been qualified, there can be little doubt but that he would have voted for Douglas, on the same grounds as had determined his vote for Buchanan four years before. As between Breckinridge and Lincoln, he favored the latter, but the middle course appealed to him as postponing the crisis, until the excited passions of both sides had cooled.

But when the news of the firing on Sumter came to Galena, it subordinated politics to patriotism, and Grant at once avowed his sympathies with the flag under which he had served for fifteen years.

Unlike many of his companions in the army, there was for him no question of divided patriotism because of state allegiance. There is a tradition, founded on the gossip of a slave, that his father-in-law endeavored to win him for the South, promising a commission as brigadier-general. But whatever truth there may be in this rumor, it is certain that there was not the slightest hesitation on Grant's part as to his duty. "We are now in the midst of trying times when every one must be for or against his country, and show his colors, too, by his every act," he wrote to his father, ten days after the firing on Sumter. "Having been educated for such an emergency, at the expense of the Government, I feel that it has upon me superior claims, such claims as no ordinary motives of self-interest can surmount. . . . Whatever may have been my political opinions before, I have but one sentiment now. That is, we have a Government, and laws, and a flag, and they must all be sustained." In his immediate family, this was the unanimous sentiment, although some of his Southern cousins at once enlisted in the Confederate Army, and Jesse Grant's sister, Rachel, who had lived for eight years in Virginia and was a slave owner, wrote to one of her nieces, "If you are with the accursed Lincolnites, the ties of consanguinity shall be forever severed."

The uprising of the North in defense of the Union is one of the most inspiring facts of the nation's history. At Galena, as in practically every

other Northern community, a town meeting was assembled at the court-house to ratify Lincoln's call for volunteers. The local leaders were two men, whose intimate association with Grant was of the greatest service to him, and has made their names memorable,—Elihu B. Washburne and John A. Rawlins. Washburne had been the congressman for the district since 1852. In the organization of the Republican party he had played a conspicuous part, and he was most zealous that the people whom he represented should be urgent in defense of the Union. Rawlins was then in his thirty-first year; he had been a farmer and charcoal-burner; through much privation he had worked his way into the legal profession, and by signal ability had succeeded. In the previous year he had been a candidate for presidential elector on the Douglas ticket, and now with his chief was foremost in pledging loyalty to the Union. At the first town meeting, the mayor, who had presided, had indicated his preference for a temporizing policy, and consequently, when the second was called, a few days later, to secure enlistments, some one nominated Captain Grant as chairman. This was Grant's first public appearance as an actor in the great struggle which was to give him his opportunity. Upon taking the chair, he spoke a few words about the practical duties of the soldier's life and pledged his own support.

Within a few days enough volunteers had been secured for a company, and it was proposed to elect

Grant, who was probably the only West Pointer in the town, to the captaincy. He declined, however, possibly with the belief that he was fitted by his training for a larger command, and A. L. Chetlain, afterward brigadier-general, was elected. In the organization of the company, Grant showed the eager volunteers what was necessary, and he assumed charge of their first drilling. With Rawlins and others he went into neighboring towns and hamlets, urging everywhere a prompt response to the President's call. When the company was completed, one week after the second town meeting, they held a farewell parade, and then took the train for Springfield, whither Grant, without any official connection, accompanied them.

It is almost impossible to conceive of the confusion and administrative chaos of the early months of the war. Few knew what ought to be done, and none had any experience in the doing. Soldiers must be mustered into service, drilled in their duties, equipped with arms and assigned to their stations. The commissary department must be organized, expenditures must be authorized, and payments made. All of these things were now to be attempted by a government which was on a peace basis and in which the authority was divided between state and nation. When Grant reached Springfield, he tendered his services to the Governor, Hon. Richard Yates, who, with no experience in such matters, was endeavoring to organize a mob of eager volunteers into an army. Although Wash-

burne had given Grant a letter of introduction to Yates, it was several days before any work was given him. Five years afterward, Yates once referred to their first interview,—"He was plain, very plain, but something beside his plain, straightforward modesty and earnestness induced me to assign him a desk in the executive office." In the "Memoirs" Grant declared that he was about to return to Galena when Yates met him by chance and offered him a post in the Adjutant-General's office. It is highly probable, however, that this offer was the result of the pressure which Washburne had exerted on behalf of his protégé.

The new work was neither dignified nor remunerative. The printing-office could not manufacture the mustering blanks as rapidly as they were needed, and so Grant was given a desk in the Adjutant's office, where he ruled blanks from plain paper for two dollars a day! After several days at this task, disgusted with work that any schoolboy could have done, and unable to afford idleness, he was on the point of returning to Galena. But fortunately the legislature authorized eleven additional regiments, and Grant was appointed mustering officer. "I should have offered myself for the colonelcy of one of the regiments," he wrote to his father on May 2d, "but I find all of those places are wanted by politicians who are up to log-rolling, and I do not care to be under such persons." His new duties took him to various parts of the state, where men were enlist-

ing. While waiting for a regiment to form at Belleville, in the southern part of the state, Grant crossed over to St. Louis, and there witnessed the energetic movements of Francis P. Blair, Jr., and Captain Nathaniel Lyon in disarming the secessionists at Camp Jackson. At this time, Captain John Pope was stationed at Springfield as the mustering-officer for the regular army, and Grant, upon renewing an acquaintance which had begun at West Point, was advised by him to apply for service in the regular army. It was quite evident that in the hurly-burly of organization others were winning recognition more quickly than Grant. While he had brief command of Camp Yates, and had had a temporary camp named after himself, and was becoming known as a master of the details of the business of military administration, yet he had little self-assertion, and no parade or presence, and as a consequence he was being passed by men of greater assurance and influence. Moreover, at this time Grant shared the belief of most others that the war would not last longer than a brief campaign, and he was probably reluctant to give up a business position which had been secured with some difficulty for another experiment in the army. But his experience at Springfield seems to have revived in him the old love for army life, and during the next month he strove earnestly to return to the service.

After the new regiments had been mustered in, Grant's work for the state was done, so he returned to Galena, to await what fortune might bring. On

May 24, 1861, he wrote to the War Department,[1] offering his services, and suggesting that he was competent to command a regiment,—a conclusion which he had reached after observing the character of the training of the men who had received appointments of this grade. His letter was apparently mislaid in the mass of similar correspondence at Washington, and it was not discovered until long after the writer had secured national recognition. Grant waited for an answer, and as none was received, he became impatient. "I have felt all the time as if a duty were being neglected that was paramount to any other duty I ever owed." Eventually, he went South to Covington, Ky., to see his

[1] *Galena, Ill.,*
May 24th, 1861.

COL. L. THOMAS,
Adgt. Gen. U. S. A.,
Washington, D. C.

SIR:

Having served for fifteen years in the regular army, including four years at West Point, and feeling it the duty of every one who has been educated at the Government expense to offer their service for the support of that Government, I have the honor, very respectfully, to tender my services until the close of the War, in such capacity as may be offered. I would say, in view of my present age and length of service, I feel myself competent to command a Regiment if the President, in his judgment, should see fit to intrust one to me.

Since the first call of the President, I have been serving on the Staff of the Governor of this State, rendering such aid as I could in the organization of our State Militia, and am still engaged in that capacity. A letter addressed to me at Springfield, Ill., will reach me.

I am, very respectfully,
Your Obt. Svt.
U. S. GRANT.

parents, and after a few days crossed over to Cincinnati, in the hope of securing a position on the staff of General George B. McClellan, who was then organizing the Western army, and was generally regarded as the coming man. He found McClellan's headquarters full of bustle and life, and hoped for a time that he might here receive appointment as a major or lieutenant-colonel, but although he made two visits, McClellan was too busy to receive one, whom if he recalled at all, he probably remembered without favor.[1] This failure made Grant despondent, as it seemed to indicate that a return to active service would not be easy. At this time, discouraged to an unusual degree, he even suggested to a friend that he might bake bread for the soldiers, as he had done while quartermaster in Mexico.

Meanwhile, his opportunity had come. Among the regiments which had been accepted by Yates was one organized by the young men from Champaign and the adjacent communities, which had been mustered into service by Grant at Mattoon. Its first colonel had proven unfit for the post, and the regiment had become disorderly and insubordinate. The officers were called into conference with the Governor, and suggested a change in commander. Recalling the trained soldier, who had presided over the organization of the regiment, Grant's name was mentioned, and the Governor decided to act on the suggestion. So, while Grant

[1] In "McClellan's Own Story," p. 47, he states that he was absent from Cincinnati at this time.

was fretting in Cincinnati, he received a telegraphic appointment as colonel of the Seventh District Regiment, or the Twenty-first Illinois, as it was called later. He accepted with alacrity, and hastened to Springfield to this welcome duty.

When the new colonel went out to Camp Yates to assume command, he was accompanied by two congressmen, John A. McClernand and John A. Logan, both Douglas Democrats and loyal to the Union. In the usual custom of the time, the regiment was assembled, and the congressmen delivered highly patriotic speeches. Then the new colonel was called for, and as he arose on the platform,—"dressed in citizen's clothes, an old coat worn out at the elbows and a badly damaged hat," there was some derision at his appearance. Grant's speech was but a sentence,—"Men, go to your quarters!" And while some contrasted his style and manner with the grandiloquent appearance of his predecessor, yet there were many who could not but feel that now the holiday was over, and the regiment was in the hands of one who knew his trade.

During the first few days Grant had no horse and no uniform, and so left to Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander the duty of presiding at dress-parade. At the first drills he was obliged to point out the line with a stick instead of a sword! But his father's partner, A. A. Collins, loaned him several hundred dollars, with which he purchased the necessary equipment, and thenceforth, until the closing days of his life, he was rid of the pressure

of financial necessity. His increasing income during the army service enabled him to discharge his debts with scrupulous honor, and to provide comfortably for his family.

His first great problem was to reduce his regiment to a proper state of discipline, and this was undertaken with a degree of thoroughness that showed his training. When a company assembled late for roll-call, it spent the day without rations. When men straggled out of the camp after liquor, they were tied to trees for a period of reflection. When one cursed his commander, he was gagged. It needed but a few such salutary lessons. The average volunteer of the Civil War was a higher type of manhood than has ever served in any similar struggle, and the response of these farmers' sons to a discipline which was effective, even if rigid, was instant.

Early in July the regiment was ordered to Quincy, Ill., and to the amazement of all, Grant refused railroad transportation, preferring to march through the state, soldier-fashion. This experience completed his conquest of his men, as he taught them how to camp and to mess, and so prepared them in the details of a soldier's every-day life, so that the chaplain, Rev. James L. Crane, could say, —"In less than ten days after Grant took command, all this complicated confusion was brought to order and subordination by his quiet unostentatious vigor and vigilance. Every man felt that he had a colonel that must be obeyed and respected;

and hence they all soon became strongly attached to him, with the exception of a few who disliked any restraints upon their waywardness." So effective was this training that at the Illinois River, when the regiment was sleeping near midnight, Grant had them aroused, tents struck, baggage collected and all at the water's edge within forty minutes,—a movement which brought from their commander the comment that they had displayed the celerity and promptness of veterans.

The first real service of the regiment was in Missouri, which from its situation and population was one of the most important of the border states. Here, the Governor, Claiborne F. Jackson, was in sympathy with secession, but the friends of the Union, organized by Francis P. Blair, Jr., whose brother was in Lincoln's Cabinet, and a small group of regulars, commanded by Captain Lyon, had checked his plans. In the summer of 1861, while the Union Army was organizing, the state was overrun with bands of Southern sympathizers, who maintained a species of guerilla warfare on their opponents, degenerating eventually into neighborhood feuds and bushwhacking. On July 1, 1861, Lincoln appointed John C. Frémont a major-general in the regular army, and two days later he was placed in charge of the Western Department, with headquarters at St. Louis. Frémont reached his command on July 25th, having spent three weeks in the East in a vain effort to secure arms and equipment. During this period the Twenty-

first Illinois was ordered by steamer to Ironton, which was the Union headquarters in southeastern Missouri. But the boat grounded on a sand-bar, and hearing that some Illinois forces had been surrounded by Confederates in northwestern Missouri, Grant took his regiment by train from the Illinois River to Quincy, then crossed the Mississippi, and hastened to Palmyra, where he was first stationed as a guard to workmen who were rebuilding a bridge over Salt River. General Pope, recently mustering-officer at Springfield, was in command in northern Missouri, and was endeavoring to suppress the guerilla warfare. To this end, Grant was ordered to attack Colonel William Harris, who had a force of about 1,200 men at Florida. With great trepidation, Grant marched his regiment twenty-five miles through a deserted country, to find that Harris had retreated several days before. "It occurred to me at once that Harris had been as much afraid of me as I had been of him. This was a view of the question I had never taken before; but it was one I never forgot afterward. From that event, to the close of the war, I never experienced trepidation upon confronting an enemy, though I always felt more or less anxiety. I never forgot that he had so much reason to fear my forces as I had his. The lesson was valuable."

After this adventure, Grant was stationed at Mexico for a few weeks, and while there learned from a newspaper that Lincoln had commissioned him as a Brigadier-General of Volunteers. In rec-

ognition of the loyalty of the state, the Illinois congressmen had been asked to suggest several candidates to the President for brigadiers' commissions, and on Washburne's nomination, Grant's name was first on the list.

In August, Grant was ordered to Ironton, seventy miles south of St. Louis, and the terminus of a railroad, to defend the post from a threatened attack by Hardee, who had an unorganized army of Confederates numbering about 5,000 in the vicinity. Here he relieved B. Gratz Brown, afterward candidate for the vice-presidency on the Greeley ticket. With a force of about 3,000, Grant organized the defense so as to make Ironton secure, and then planned an offensive operation against Hardee, who was twenty-five miles to the south. Some of his columns had already started on this expedition when General B. M. Prentiss arrived with orders to supersede Grant. Prentiss had been appointed a brigadier at the same time as Grant, but the latter was his senior in the regular army, and hence should have retained the command. Frémont had not been informed as to this seniority, and so Grant with a protest yielded to Prentiss, and returned to St. Louis. Here he spent a day trying to penetrate the pomp with which Frémont had surrounded himself, and eventually, upon explaining the situation, he received the command at Jefferson City, in the centre of the state, which was then being threatened by General Sterling Price.

Jefferson City was the capital of Missouri, and

hence was a post of considerable importance. Grant found it filled with soldiers, whose patriotism but intensified the lack of organization. Recruits were being accepted for different periods of service, and yet were placed in the same regiments. The city was filled with refugees, driven in by Confederate partisans. First organizing his men, Grant then sent detachments to various posts twenty miles away, where there was greater opportunity for subsistence. He was about to organize an offensive movement, when he was again relieved by Colonel Jefferson C. Davis, and ordered to St. Louis, to receive special instructions. These placed him in command of the district of southeast Missouri, embracing also southern Illinois and western Kentucky, and he at once proceeded to Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi, between Cairo and St. Louis, to take personal charge of an expedition designed to crush Colonel Jeff. Thompson, a Confederate partisan who had a considerable force in the neighborhood.

The plan of attack involved several separate columns which were to concentrate upon Thompson from Ironton, Cairo and Cape Girardeau. Prentiss was still in command at Ironton, and when he found that he was to serve under Grant, whom he regarded as his junior, he abandoned his command and hastened to St. Louis to complain. This broke up the attack, and Thompson escaped. Grant was obliged to prefer charges against Prentiss, who on this occasion made a serious mistake, which for a time cost him an active command. On September 4,

1861, Grant arrived at Cairo, and assumed entire charge of his district.

During this first summer of the war, Grant had advanced rapidly in the esteem of his superiors and in his capacity for service. His frequent transfers were due, not to any demerit of his own, but to a growing conviction that here was the man for an emergency. From Cape Girardeau he wrote to his father, "I was sent to Ironton when the place was weak and threatened with a superior force, and as soon as it was rendered secure, I was ordered to Jefferson City, another point threatened. I was left there but a week when orders were sent ordering me to this point, putting me in command of all the forces in southeastern Missouri, south Illinois, and everything that can operate here. All I fear is that too much may be expected of me." Moreover, his training as quartermaster had been of great help in organizing and equipping the scattered forces under his command, and he had already commenced to display his strong characteristic of doing something with what was provided, instead of vociferously demanding more, even to the point of the impossible.

With this preliminary experience he was now transferred to one of the most important fields in the West.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST BATTLES—FORT DONELSON

It is impossible properly to appreciate the difficulties of the North in prosecuting the war for the Union without a due recognition of the enormous extent of the theatre of operations. The eleven states which had formally seceded covered an area of 777,665 square miles, and within this imperial domain the authority of the Federal Government, except in small communities such as West Virginia and East Tennessee, had practically ceased to exist. Moreover, there was an active sympathy with secession in three border states, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, embracing an area of 122,025 square miles, which could only be repressed by armed forces. When it is realized that the area of the Confederacy exceeded the combined areas of France, Italy and the German and Austro-Hungarian empires, and that the area of the three border states was but a trifle less than that of Great Britain and Ireland, and that throughout this vast territory there must be an actual conquest of an intelligent, devoted and self-sacrificing people, the extent of the problem may be realized.

While in the East the main task was the capture

of Richmond and the destruction of the Army of Virginia, in the West the early plans of campaign centered naturally around the Mississippi Valley. With less than thirty thousand miles of railroad in the entire country, of which by far the greater portion was in the North, the importance of navigable rivers to trade and commerce cannot be overestimated. With its branches, the Mississippi River drained an area of about one million and a quarter square miles. Its leading tributaries are the Ohio and the Missouri, the first of which branches to the east, eleven hundred miles above the mouth of the great river, and the Missouri, really the parent stream under another name, empties into the Mississippi at St. Louis, one hundred and fifty miles above the mouth of the Ohio.

The control of the great valley of the Mississippi was indispensable to a successful prosecution of the war. Especially was it desired in the Northwest, whose natural outlet for trade was blocked by the Confederate strongholds in the South. So popular was this phase of the struggle that regiments from the Northwest had inscribed on their banners, "The rebels have closed the Mississippi. We must cut our way to the Gulf with our swords." Opposed to this ardent and traditional feeling in the Northwest was the clear view of the Southern leaders, who recognized that the loss of the valley would cut the Confederacy in twain, more than two-fifths of its area being west of the river. Moreover, the states of Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas supplied the Con-

federacy with most of its sugar, beef and grain, and at least 100,000 recruits. As soon as the war had commenced, therefore, fortifications were maintained at New Orleans, Port Hudson, Vicksburg, Memphis, Fort Pillow, New Madrid and Island No. 10.

In the autumn of 1861 the state of Kentucky intervened between the armed forces of the North and South. While the Governor, Magoffin, had become an ardent secessionist, yet the legislature, and a large majority of the people, inspired by their memories of the teachings of Clay, were strongly for the Union. At first the legislature proclaimed neutrality, but with armies on the immediate north and south, this status was obviously impossible. On September 4, 1861, General Leonidas Polk, who commanded the Confederate army in western Tennessee, invaded Kentucky and seized Columbus, where a commanding bluff gave the control of the Mississippi River. Polk was a nephew of the President under whom the war with Mexico had been waged. He had been graduated from West Point, and had served in the army for a brief time. He then took orders in the Episcopal ministry, and at the outbreak of the Civil War was Bishop of Louisiana. When the Legislature of Kentucky learned of the invasion of "the fighting Bishop," there was a strong protest against so patent a violation of States' Rights, with the result that the Union sentiment in the state was soon so pronounced as to settle finally its attitude.

Upon the same day that Polk raised the Confederate flag at Columbus, Grant arrived at Cairo, and assumed command of his new district. The problem before him was formidable, and the means were scanty. Cairo was a small town of less than 3,000 inhabitants, located on the Illinois shore at the mouth of the Ohio River. Its principal business was shipping and transportation, and it was the natural centre for the trade down the Mississippi. On account of its strategic position, it had early been fortified, and had contained a garrison under Colonel Richard Oglesby. When Grant reported he was in citizen's dress, for his brigadier's uniform had not yet arrived from New York, and the first introduction of the Colonel to his new chief came when the latter entered the headquarters, and taking pen and paper, drafted an order assuming command. Scattered throughout the district there were about 20,000 soldiers, and Grant's first care was to see that they were properly organized for operation. Cairo was filled with volunteer officers, impressive in their parade and ornate in uniform, and there was some difficulty in reducing them to proper discipline.

Little time was given for plans or deliberation. The next day a Union scout brought word that an expedition had left Columbus to seize Paducah, a town of 5,000 inhabitants, located where the Tennessee River empties into the Ohio, and hence where a blockade of the trade of both rivers could be maintained. Realizing the importance of the post, Grant determined to anticipate Polk, and sent a hasty

telegram to Frémont that he would start that night for Paducah, unless ordered to the contrary. The Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers are the main branches of the Ohio in western Kentucky and Tennessee. During the last eighty miles of their course they are almost parallel, and they empty into the Ohio River at Paducah and Smithland, within twenty miles of each other. The control of the mouths of these two rivers would go far toward the mastery of the basins, and Grant won the race. Embarking two regiments and a battery on the evening of September 5th, he steamed hastily upstream forty-five miles and landed at Paducah, while the Confederates were still ten miles away. The houses of Southern sympathizers were decorated with bunting and the flags of their choice, but the nature of the reception was altered. Grant's Proclamation[1] to the citizens of Paducah was a model

[1] PROCLAMATION
TO THE CITIZENS OF PADUCAH!

I have come among you, not as an enemy, but as your friend and fellow-citizen, not to injure or annoy you, but to respect the rights, and to defend and enforce the rights of all loyal citizens. An enemy, in rebellion against our common government, has taken possession of, and planted its guns upon the soil of Kentucky and fired upon our flag. Hickman and Columbus are in his hands. He is moving upon your city. I am here to defend you against this enemy and to assert and maintain the authority and sovereignty of your government and mine. I have nothing to do with opinions. I shall deal only with armed rebellion and its aiders and abettors. You can pursue your usual avocations without fear or hindrance. The strong arm of the Government is here to protect its friends, and to punish only its enemies. Whenever it is manifest that you are able to defend

statement of its kind, which by its dignity of expression won the admiration of President Lincoln.

After reinforcing Paducah so that it was no longer in danger, and sending a detachment to Smithland, Grant returned to Cairo, leaving Colonel Chas. F. Smith, former Commandant at West Point, in charge of this important post. The next two months were spent in organization and drill, in fortifying important locations, and in reconnaissances against the enemy. It was not an easy time. "It is a rare thing that I get to bed before two or three o'clock in the morning," he wrote from Cairo to his sister, "and am usually wakened in the morning before getting awake in a normal way." Gradually, however, system developed out of chaos; a staff was organized, of which the Galena lawyer, Rawlins, was the most useful member, and the army was put in readiness for offensive operations.

In October, Frémont led forth from St. Louis a well-equipped army of 38,000 to attack General Price, who had remained in the state since his victory at Wilson's Creek. Price retreated before this overwhelming force, however, and eventually, on November 2d, before a battle had been fought, Frémont was superseded by Hunter. As a part of this campaign, Grant fought his first battle at a hamlet

yourselves, to maintain the authority of your government and protect the rights of all its loyal citizens, I shall withdraw the forces under my command from your city.

U. S. GRANT,
Brig. Gen. U. S. A., Commanding.

Paducah, Sept. 6th, 1861.

called Belmont, on the western shore of the Mississippi opposite Columbus, where Polk had constructed a camp.

Learning that there was a detachment of Confederates in Missouri about fifty miles southwest from Cairo, Grant sent a force under Colonel Oglesby against them. Later, on November 5th, he was advised that Polk was moving a strong force west from Columbus to attack Oglesby. In order to prevent this movement, Grant sent reinforcements to Oglesby, and also ordered Smith to advance from Paducah to threaten Columbus, and himself led an expedition of 3,100 men from Cairo by boat as a part of the same plan. Originally, this expedition was only designed to alarm Polk to the extent of recalling his forces from the interior of Missouri, but when Grant saw the spirit of his men, he determined to attack the camp at Belmont.

Landing on the west bank, about three miles above Belmont, Grant left the gunboats to watch the transports, and marched his men over a cornfield and through marshy ground and thickets, until he met the enemy. There was four hours' fighting between almost equal forces. Grant had a horse shot under him, but received another from a staff officer. Gradually the Confederates gave ground, and finally fled to the river bank, where they were covered by the guns from Columbus. Grant then seized the camp, and here his men scattered in the search for plunder and souvenirs of their first battle. Meanwhile the Confederates retreated along the

bank, until they were between Grant and the boats. Also Polk, who had been held in check by Smith's advance, finally realized the plan by which thus far he had been outgeneraled, and hurrying four regiments to steamboats, sent them across the river as a reinforcement. With the prospect of another battle, Grant, unable to rally his disordered forces, set fire to the camp, and ordered a retreat. To the raw troops, under fire for the first time, there was a moment of panic, as the Confederates, with fresh regiments approaching, now attacked their flanks. But Grant reassured his men that since they had cut their way in, they could cut it out again, and so led them back to the boats. The troops reimbarked on their transports, taking most of their wounded, and their General was the last to follow. Indeed, the planking had been pulled up, but it was hastily placed in position again as Grant's horse slid on its haunches down the river bank, and so bore its rider to the boat. Both McClernand and Logan, congressmen and soldiers, served in this battle and received their baptism of fire.[1]

Belmont was severely criticized in the North as a defeat, and it is, of course, evident that the Confederates remained in possession of the field. Grant, however, claimed the battle as a victory, since it caused Polk to recall his detachments, and thus saved Oglesby. Moreover, the experience gave the

[1] The losses at Belmont were as follows: Union: Killed, 120; wounded, 383; missing, 104. Confederate: Killed, 105; wounded, 419; missing, 117.

men confidence in their chief, and seasoned them like veterans. "I feel truly proud to command such men," wrote Grant to his father on the next day. ". . . we fought our way from tree to tree through the woods to Belmont, about two and a half miles, the enemy contesting every foot of ground. . . . It has given me a confidence in the officers and men of this command that will enable me to lead them in any future engagement without fear of the result."

During the next three months there were many changes in the military situation. Hunter was succeeded by General Henry W. Halleck, who, on November 19th, assumed command at St. Louis. At first Grant was apprehensive lest he should lose his command to some one with whom Halleck was better acquainted, but this fear was fortunately without foundation. Cairo was fast becoming a naval centre as well as a military post. In the summer of 1861 James B. Eads had received a contract for the construction of seven armored gunboats, of light draught, adapted to operations on the rivers of the Middle West. He pushed this contract day and night, and by the latter part of November this fleet was delivered at Cairo. These boats were so constructed as to draw six feet of water; they carried thirteen heavy guns each, were plated with 2½ inch iron and had a speed of nine miles per hour. On September 12th Andrew H. Foote arrived at Cairo, and took command of the fleet. River steamboats were reconstructed into war boats by the addition of

armor, and these "tin-clads," as they were popularly called, were of the greatest service in all of the campaigns in the Mississippi Valley.

While Grant and Foote were organizing their forces, the pressure of contractors caused some trouble at Cairo. It is a matter of intense regret that every great struggle brings to the front a group of men who seek a personal profit to the point of extortion in the hour of their country's danger. When Thomas A. Scott, then Assistant Secretary of War, arrived at Cairo, in February, on an inspection tour for the government he found many cases of graft. Boats which had been bought and sold for $6,000 before the war were being leased to the government for $1,500 a month.[1] Against the practices of the dishonest contractors, Grant took a decisive stand. Even when his father, always keen to turn a dollar, asked for the influence of his son in some harness contract, Grant replied, "I cannot take an active part in securing contracts. If I were not in the army I should do so, but situated as I am, it is necessary both to my efficiency for the public good and my own reputation, that I should keep clear of government contracts." Disappointed contractors, whose plans for profit were blocked by this unassuming man, found it to their advantage to circulate stories as to his habits and manner of life, and these found quick acceptance in army circles, where the story of the experiences at Fort Humboldt was known, generally in a much magni-

[1] See Stanton MSS. Library of Congress.

fied form. Moreover, he had not the personality to appeal to many of the newspaper men, who were at Cairo, and some of these used their great influence to give credence to scandals which were based on nothing but ill-natured gossip. General Prentiss justified his conduct in the Cape Girardeau campaign by saying that he would not serve under a drunkard! Again, when Grant visited his subordinates, Charles F. Smith and Lew Wallace, at Paducah, and wine and cigars were served, sensational accounts were presently sent to Northern newspapers describing an orgy and a drunken revel.

Unquestionably, the most serious trouble of these months arose over the arrest of Captain K——, an officer of the quartermaster's department, who had a boat which had been seized by the government, and who demanded a compensation which to Grant seemed exorbitant. As the captain persisted in pressing his demands, Grant finally ordered him under arrest. After a few days K—— wrote Rawlins, demanding to know the reason for his arrest, whereupon Grant endorsed on the letter that it was for disobedience and disrespect for his superior officer. Whereupon K—— addressed a letter to Halleck, accusing Grant of gambling, drunkenness and other abominable offenses. Halleck forwarded these charges to Grant, who endorsed thereon, "Captain K—— will please furnish a copy of these charges for this office, and one copy to be sent to the headquarters of the Department.—U. S. G." This method of dealing with charges that savored

of blackmail was most effective, and while similar attacks were made throughout the entire course of the war, yet no official notice was ever taken of them.

While complicated duties and personal problems were alike demanding attention, Grant was preparing for the campaign which was to make him a national figure. The Confederate line of defense ran from Columbus, through Bowling Green to Cumberland Gap, and was under the general command of Albert Sidney Johnston. On the northern boundary of Tennessee, where the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers were but twelve miles apart, were two forts, Donelson and Henry, which formed the centre of the line of defense. Facing the Confederates were the forces under Grant, at Cairo and Paducah, and the Army of the Ohio, under Don Carlos Buell, one of whose divisions, under George H. Thomas, was on the extreme east at Cumberland Gap. Halleck and Buell had independent commands, both being subordinate to McClellan, but in the sickness of the latter, in the winter of 1861–1862, they were practically without instructions from Washington. Lincoln strongly urged coöperation between these commanders, but both were cautious men, and while Halleck wanted to advance down the river, Buell favored a march on Nashville. It is quite possible that the spring might have arrived with no accomplishment, if it had not been for Grant.

Early in January, under Halleck's strict direc-

tions to reconnoitre but to avoid a battle, Grant had pushed a strong column out from Cairo to Fort Henry, while Foote had sent his gunboats up the river to the same point. As a result, Grant reported personally to Halleck at St. Louis that he could take the fort. "I was cut short," he says, "as if my plan was preposterous." But in spite of this discouragement the matter was brought up again, and Foote strongly supported Grant's representations. Meanwhile, on January 19th, Thomas had won a decisive victory over Zollicoffer at Cumberland Gap, and Halleck began to feel that if he did not move soon, Buell's army would carry off the laurels. Moreover, tidings had come from the East that Beauregard would soon reinforce Johnston, and it was evident that delay meant playing the Confederates' game. So on January 30th Halleck telegraphed orders to take Fort Henry, and two days later Grant embarked 15,000 men on transports, and with seven gunboats under Foote, started on an historic expedition.[1]

Fort Henry was located at the east bank of the Tennessee, and was connected with Fort Donelson by a road twelve miles long. But with a fatuity that could only have been born of inexperience, it had been built upon ground so low that it was certain to be covered by the overflow of the river in

[1] There is not the opportunity here to consider the mooted question as to who originated this expedition. Buell, McClellan and Halleck have each been assigned the credit by their partisans.

the spring rains. General Lloyd Tilghman was in command with about 3,500 men. Recognizing the weak point of his situation, he had tried to fortify the heights on the west bank. But Grant's rapid advance prevented this plan. The transports were unloaded three miles below the fort, and while one division was sent over to the west bank to seize the heights, the remainder of the troops were marched toward the rear of the fort to block any retreat to Donelson. Meanwhile, Tilghman had decided that his position was untenable, and during the night of February 5th, he ordered his forces to retire to Donelson, retaining less than one hundred men. On the morning of February 6th, the gunboats steamed up the river, firing when one mile away, and keeping up their bombardment until within six hundred yards. After a few hours, although the *Essex* had been disabled by a shot through the boiler, the heaviest guns of the fort were silenced, and Tilghman, having saved his army, hauled down his flag, and surrendered to Foote. Meanwhile, McClernand's division marched to the road, so close upon the retreating forces that six pieces of artillery and thirty-eight prisoners were taken. Immediately after the victory Grant telegraphed to Halleck: "Fort Henry is ours. . . . I shall take and destroy Fort Donelson on the eighth." But in this calculation he neglected to consider the weather, for the river was now steadily rising, and the intervening country was being flooded.

The news of the taking of Fort Henry was re-

ceived with great rejoicing in the North, and special significance was given to the triumph of the navy, a branch of the service in which the South was confessedly weak. The panic of the Confederates in north Tennessee was extreme, and some even drowned themselves in the river floods in their hurry to retreat. The line of communication between Columbus and Bowling Green was broken, and Johnston, anticipating a sudden attack on Fort Donelson, and threatened by a forward movement of Buell's army, faced the loss of west Tennessee. In this situation, the highest generalship would have suggested a concentration of his forces upon either Grant or Buell, preferably the former, who had pierced the enemy's country, and was most exposed to attack. Instead of this policy, Johnston determined to abandon Bowling Green, and to divide his forces, so as to fight for Nashville at Donelson. Tilghman had been in general command of both forts, and after the concentration of his army on the Cumberland, Fort Donelson was garrisoned by about 5,000 men. To their reinforcement, Johnston now sent Generals John B. Floyd and S. R. Buckner with 8,000 men, and later, General G. J. Pillow with 4,000 more, and himself retreated with 14,000 to Clarksville and Nashville. Reinforcements were also ordered to Donelson from Columbus, but the break in the line at the Tennessee River compelled their return. Of these commanders, Buckner was Grant's old comrade at West Point and his friend; Pillow had held high command in the Mexican War, but was rated

low by his opponent, and Floyd had been Secretary of War in Buchanan's administration.

While this concentration was taking place, Grant had his own troubles in preparing his expedition for Donelson. The condition of the river prevented the sudden march which he had designed, and he was compelled to delay. Writing to his sister from Fort Henry on February 9th, he said: "You have no conception of the amount of labor I have to perform. An army of men all helpless, looking to the commanding officer for every supply. Your plain brother, however, has as yet no reason to feel himself unequal to the task, and fully believes that he will carry on a successful campaign against our rebel enemy."

The day after the surrender of Fort Henry, Grant made a personal examination of the works of the larger fort, and determined upon a speedy attack. Foote led his fleet north to the Ohio River, and then steamed up the Cumberland so as to be in readiness for his part in the fight. He convoyed transports containing some fresh regiments which Halleck had ordered to the scene. On February 12th, Grant, leaving General Lew Wallace at Fort Henry with 2,500 men, marched across the belt of land separating the two forts with two divisions, led by Generals Smith and McClernand, numbering 15,000 men. But while this force would have been ample to have invested Donelson in the previous week, the reinforcements had meanwhile arrived, and Grant's force was actually inferior to his opponent's.

Fort Donelson was situated on the west bank of the Cumberland River, half a mile north of the town of Dover. It occupied a bluff on the river front, about one hundred feet high, and commanded navigation by two water-batteries. The fort proper embraced about one hundred acres, but a line of rifle-pits and abattis, two and one-half miles in length, had been thrown up on the crest of the high ground which connected the fort with the town of Dover. Behind these fortifications was the Confederate army, Buckner commanding on the right, and Pillow on the left.

The Union army spent February 13th in taking its position, Smith on the left, while McClernand marched around to the right to block the road from Dover to the south. It was soon evident, however, that Grant's forces were not numerous enough to hold the entire line, and Wallace was speedily summoned from Fort Henry and placed between Smith and McClernand, with a hastily-organized division, consisting in large measure of the troops which had come by the transports. Meanwhile, the weather changed, and on February 13th the thermometer fell to ten degrees above zero, and a driving rain was succeeded by hail and snow. The suffering of the soldiers, who had started on this expedition without heavy coats and with but scanty supplies, was intense, but these privations only served to whet their desire to face the enemy who had evaded them one week before.

On the morning of February 14th the fort was

completely invested on the land side, and the preliminary operations had been in the main successful. The Confederates had missed their great chance. If they had attacked Grant while his columns were in march, or if they had rolled up his divisions before they were in position, the outcome might have been different. After the surrender, Buckner told Grant that if he had been in command, he would not have allowed the Northern army to take position so easily; to which Grant replied, that if he had not known that Buckner was not in command, he would have approached in a far different manner.

With the investment completed, Foote then led his gunboats to the attack, hoping to repeat the success at Fort Henry. But now the conditions were far different. The water-batteries and the cannon on the bluff received little damage from the fleet, while from their position, the Confederates were enabled seriously to cripple the gunboats, disabling two, and wounding Foote, who was compelled to withdraw his fleet for repairs. That night there was a council of war in the Confederate camp, at which it was decided to cut a way of retreat. Pillow was placed in charge of a sortie, to be directed against McClernand—so as to command the road from Dover—and Buckner withdrew some of his men from the right so as to be in a position to assist.

At daybreak on the morning of the 15th Grant received a message from Foote, asking him to come on board the *St. Louis* for consultation. Grant at once rode up to the anchorage and had a long con-

ference with the wounded commander. Finally, it was decided that Foote should return to Cairo and refit his damaged boats, while Grant should maintain the siege until Foote's return. But this conclusion was strangely altered by the suddenness of the Confederate attack. In the early morning hours, Pillow had attacked McClernand with a column of 10,000 men, and although bravely resisted, he had gradually driven the Union forces away from the road, back upon Wallace. It was a stubborn contest, but at length the supply of ammunition was exhausted, and McClernand was compelled to give ground. By noon the way of retreat was open, and the Confederates were at liberty to retire. But the success of his attack had altered Pillow's attitude, and he now began to have visions of a complete triumph. Hastily sending off a telegram to his superiors announcing victory, he ordered Buckner to attack Wallace, and so to follow up his success.

Meanwhile, Grant returned! He was greeted with tidings of disaster to the entire right wing. Unquestionably he faced a moral crisis. He could have retreated now with honor, since the attack of the gunboats had failed, and the opposing army was almost as strong as his, and in far better physical condition. Never did his mental processes show to better advantage than in estimating the relative chances. He knew the weakness of his position, but he did not forget to appraise properly the weaknesses of his foe. A quick messenger was

dispatched to Foote, urging that the gunboats reappear to threaten the water-side. "A terrible conflict ensued in my absence, which has demoralized a portion of my command, and I think the enemy is much more so." Then, calculating that the force opposite Smith's fresh regiments must have been reduced to strengthen Pillow, he ordered an immediate attack on the Confederate right. Riding down the line of battle, he and his aides passed around the word that the enemy were trying to run away. A Confederate knapsack filled with rations was picked up, and it afforded a chance for the conclusion that their soldiers had been provisioned for an escape. The soldiers quickly responded to these appeals, and the lines were reformed for the attack. At both ends of the line Grant's plans succeeded. Smith, leading his men to the attack in a charge which was the feature of the day, not only drove back the Confederates, but even effected a lodgment in the fort itself, holding by nightfall the key to the entire Confederate position. On the left, McClernand and Wallace regained all of the lost ground, holding the road more firmly than on the previous day, and driving Pillow behind his entrenchments.

It was a sad evening inside the fort. Pillow upbraided his associates, but all recognized that their position could not be maintained. Floyd was under indictment in the Federal courts for malfeasance, and both he and Pillow attached over-great importance to their own safety. Finally, Floyd agreed to

turn over the command to Pillow, provided that he could use the only two steamboats for his own escape. Pillow in turn yielded command to Buckner, who announced that he would treat with Grant in the morning. Before the morning came, however, Floyd, with 1,500 Virginians, had sailed up the river in the steamboats; Pillow and his staff were ferried across the river in a flatboat and so made their escape; Colonel N. B. Forrest with a band of cavalry rode past the Federal forces on an icy crust by the river; and Buckner, with more than 12,000 men, was left to surrender.

On Sunday morning, February 16th, Grant was just arranging for a final assault, when a note arrived from Buckner proposing an armistice to arrange for terms of surrender. Grant's reply became historic: "Sir: Yours of this date proposing armistice and appointment of commissioners to settle terms of capitulation is just received. No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." Buckner had conducted himself throughout in a most approved and soldierly manner, and he recognized that further resistance meant the useless slaughter of his men, and so, notwithstanding that he styled the terms offered as "ungenerous and unchivalric," he accepted, and the white flag was displayed.

An interesting side-light on the nature of the war is presented by the experience of General Lew Wallace, who, as soon as the capitulation was an-

nounced, rode into the Confederate lines with his staff, and finding Buckner at breakfast, sat down at table with his old army friend!

There were surrendered with Fort Donelson about 12,000 men, two general officers, Buckner and Bushrod R. Johnson, 20,000 stand of arms and sixty cannon.[1] The moral effect of the victory was tremendous. For months, the anxious North had been waiting for good tidings from the field of battle. Enormous preparations and sacrifices innumerable had been made. From the President in the White House to the anxious mother on the humblest farm,—all were waiting for some news that would tell for progress. When the telegraph carried the account of the surrender at Donelson, the North went delirious with joy—bonfires, bell-ringing, illumination. In Chicago, the Board of Trade adjourned, and from Cincinnati and Indianapolis, special boats and trains were sent with supplies for the soldiers. Lincoln at once nominated Grant as a Major-General of Volunteers, to date from the surrender, and the Senate confirmed the appointment. As the details of the campaign became better known, Grant's letter to Buckner was recognized as a message to the Union, and through the appropriateness of the initials, "Sam" Grant became "Unconditional Surrender" Grant.

Another result of the Donelson Campaign was that it marked the beginning of friendships with

[1] The Union losses in this battle were as follows: Killed, 510; wounded, 2,152; missing, 224.

Wm. T. Sherman and James B. McPherson. Sherman was in command at Smithland, and hurried reinforcements to Grant, sending repeated messages of encouragement, and offering to come up the river himself and waive his seniority of rank, if he could but help. McPherson was now attached to the staff of General Halleck, and was active in forwarding troops to Grant. The after-friendship of these three great soldiers, so free from any pettiness or personal rivalry, is one of the beautiful episodes of the war.

The son of the leather-merchant had now become a national figure, and all awaited the next steps in his progress.

CHAPTER VII

THE CORINTH CAMPAIGN—PITTSBURG LANDING

THE capture of Fort Donelson shattered the Confederate line of defense. On February 14th, Johnston abandoned Bowling Green, and upon hearing of Grant's victory, at once determined to withdraw from Nashville. Buell urged the Army of the Ohio in pursuit, and on February 23d, when the Confederate rear-guard was marching out of Nashville, Buell's advance was on the opposite side of the river. There were signs of demoralization in the Confederate camp, and Grant was always of the opinion that a vigorous advance at this time could have compelled the surrender of every post on the Mississippi. Certainly the Confederate Government appreciated the situation, and reinforcements with Beauregard, who was to act as second in command to Johnston, were hurried to Tennessee. Meanwhile Grant's advance compelled Polk to abandon his elaborate fortifications at Columbus, which he had boastfully styled "the Gibraltar of the West." The artillery was removed to Island No. 10, situated in a bend of the Mississippi one hundred miles below Cairo, near the northern boundary of Tennessee, and this then became the limit of Confederate power.

The success at Fort Donelson had but emphasized the need of coöperation among the Federal forces, and illustrated the folly of having two armies under independent commanders in the same field. Halleck was not slow to recognize this,—"Make Buell, Grant and Pope major-generals of volunteers, and give me command in the West," he telegraphed to Washington. "I ask this in return for Forts Henry and Donelson." But McClellan was not willing to effect a consolidation of responsibility which would result in limiting the independence of Buell. Halleck became more importunate. On February 19th he telegraphed McClellan: "Give it [the Western division] to me, and I will split secession in twain in one month;" and again, later,—"I must have command of the armies in the West. Hesitation and delay are losing us the golden opportunity." It would seem from these repeated messages that Halleck was fully cognizant of the unusual chance for opening the Mississippi. In fact, however, his orders to the generals in the field were confused and contradictory, and show clearly the total absence of any proper conception of the real situation. Thus, immediately after the surrender of Donelson, his great fear was that the Confederates would ascend from Columbus and attack Cairo and Paducah! Within certain obvious limitations, however, Halleck had two great merits—his sense of system and method which had brought order out of chaos in the Western field, and his loyal support of every subordinate in the field when he needed help, which

had led him to forward reinforcements and supplies to Grant before Donelson, and afterward to each of his other generals in their time of need.

While the government was trying to determine a policy for the West, Grant was in undeserved disgrace. After dispatching his prisoners to Cairo, he, now with an army of 27,000, looked around him for a new field of service. He resolved to proceed up the Cumberland River, and notifying Halleck of his plan, he embarked Smith's division on the transports and under the protection of the gunboats took possession of Clarksville on February 20th. Meanwhile Nelson's division of the Army of the Ohio had reported to him at Donelson, and Grant directed these well-trained regiments to continue up the river to Nashville, where they rejoined Buell's command. Here Grant met Buell, whom he found apprehensive of a Confederate attack, and here he received orders to return to Fort Henry and prepare an expedition to go up the Tennessee River, even as far as northern Mississippi and Alabama. But when Grant arrived at Fort Henry on March 4th, he received the following message from Halleck: "You will place Major-General C. F. Smith in command of expedition, and remain yourself at Fort Henry. Why do you not obey my orders to report strength and positions of your command?" So that three weeks after the first great Northern victory, the victor in that struggle saw his place taken by another!

For this action Halleck placed the blame on Mc-

Clellan, and the latter attributed it to the former. Halleck had been asking McClellan for reinforcements, and McClellan had called on Halleck for a full report on the disposition of troops in his department. Halleck, in turn, had called on Grant for information and had received no answer, for his message had not been received until Grant returned from Nashville. Meanwhile Halleck, becoming impatient with no response, learned through an anonymous letter that there had been some disorder among the troops at Donelson, and, on edge with worry, jumped at the conclusion that the commander had gone off to Nashville on some sort of junketing expedition. On March 2d Halleck wired to McClellan, "I have had no communication from Grant all the week. He left his command without my authority and went to Nashville. . . . I can get no report, no information of any kind from him. Satisfied with his victory, he sits down and enjoys it without any regard to the future. I am worn out and tired with this neglect and inefficiency." In reply, McClellan directed Grant's arrest, if the good of the service required it. On March 4th Halleck again reported to his chief: "A rumor has just reached me that since the taking of Fort Donelson Grant has resumed his former bad habits. If so, it will account for his repeated neglect of my often-repeated orders. I do not deem it advisable to arrest him at present, but have placed General Smith in command of the expedition up the Tennessee. I think Smith will restore order and discipline."

Not until after the war was over did Grant learn that his removal was based on Halleck's charges. He replied to his chief in respectful protest, stating that he had reported daily, and asking that he be relieved from command. Meanwhile, McClellan had started on his Peninsular Campaign, and one of the first results was evidenced on March 11th, when he was removed from general control of the army, and Halleck was placed in charge of the Western departments, as far east as Knoxville, thus embracing Buell's command. Two days before this order, Thomas A. Scott had telegraphed to Stanton that he was sorry to hear of Grant's removal from command of the Tennessee expedition. "The effect on the men, on the eve of the forward movement up the Tennessee, will be rather prejudicial than otherwise." Lincoln was commencing to appreciate the difficulties caused by professional jealousies, and lest injustice might be done, directed Halleck to report at once upon Grant's conduct. A few days later Halleck replied, completely exonerating Grant, and at the same time notified him to resume command of his army. "Instead of relieving you, I wish you, as soon as your new army is in the field, to assume the immediate command and lead it on to new victories."

During the two weeks of this experience, Grant's anxiety was extreme, but when the episode was closed, he wrote to Washburne his account of the difficulty in these terms: "After getting into Donelson, General Halleck did not hear from me for near

two weeks. It was about the same time before I heard from him. I was writing every day, and sometimes as often as three times a day. Reported every move and change, the condition of my troops, etc. Not getting these, General Halleck very justly became dissatisfied, and was, as I have since learned, sending me daily reprimands. Not receiving them, they lost their sting. When one did reach me, not seeing the justice of it, I retorted, and asked to be relieved. All is now understood, however, and I feel sure that General Halleck is fully satisfied. In fact, he wrote me a letter saying that I could not be relieved, and otherwise quite complimentary. I will not tire you with a longer letter, but assure you again that you shall not be disappointed in me if it is in my power to prevent it."

The Tennessee River expedition had started under Smith on March 10th. Stopping at various strategic points on the river, the advance-guard, under General Sherman, had even reached Eastport, in the northern part of Mississippi, and landed there, with a view to the destruction of a railroad bridge. Meanwhile the spring freshets had caused the overflow of the river, and Sherman was unable to move his men on land. So he returned down the river to some high ground at Pittsburg Landing, where he found Hurlburt's division encamped. This reconnaissance showed that the Confederates were in considerable force in the direction of Corinth, an important railroad centre about twenty miles south of the Landing. Upon Sherman's return he found

that Grant had been restored to his command, and Smith was suffering from an untimely wound, that later ended his promising career.

When Grant rejoined his comrades on the Tennessee, there was a general feeling that a decisive battle would soon be fought. As early as March 1st, Scott, in writing Stanton, predicted a great battle near the Tennessee line. It was evident that the surrender of Corinth would cause the evacuation of Memphis, and hence the abandonment of the state to the North. Recognizing the outlook, Halleck ordered Buell to bring his army to the line of the river, to make a junction with Grant, but his later orders were not definite as to the line of march, and so this concentration was delayed.

Meanwhile, Johnston had determined to make a desperate effort to destroy Grant's army before Buell arrived. Corinth was a junction point for two railroads—the Memphis and Charleston, running east and west, and the Mobile and Ohio, running north and south. From all directions, reinforcements were hurried to the Confederate camp. Polk brought his men from Columbus, and Bragg arrived with a large detachment from the coast. By the end of March, Johnston had a well-appointed army of 40,000, with 100 guns, divided into three corps, commanded by Polk, Bragg and Hardee, and a reserve under Breckinridge, the whole commanded by the general in whom Davis had most supreme confidence, with Beauregard as second in command.

While the enemy was concentrating for attack,

Grant was awaiting the arrival of Buell, before operating against Corinth. He had five divisions at Pittsburg Landing, under Sherman, Hurlburt, Prentiss, McClernand and W. H. L. Wallace, who had succeeded Smith in active command. One division, under Lew Wallace, was at Crump's Landing, five miles below, protecting transports and stores, and Grant himself was at Savannah, on the east bank of the river, nine miles below the Landing, where Buell's forces were expected to concentrate. In all, Grant had also about 40,000 men including Lew Wallace, but the divisions of Sherman and Prentiss were raw recruits, who received their first real drilling on the battle-field.

Pittsburg Landing was on the west bank of the Tennessee, and was surrounded by high but broken ground. It was a strong position for defense. On the north was Snake Creek, and its tributary, Owl Creek, and on the south was Lick Creek, all impassable at this season by fording. Between these two were the camps of the five divisions, with a front of about three miles, covering the Landing in the rear. Sherman was on the extreme right at Shiloh Church, with Stuart's brigade on the extreme left, at the mouth of Lick Creek; next was Prentiss's division, and in the rear were McClernand's and Hurlburt's divisions; and then near the Landing was W. H. L. Wallace. These troops were not in line of battle; there were breaks between regiments and brigades, and there were no entrenchments of any kind,—it was simply a camp.

On April 3d the Confederate army marched out from Corinth, but, although the distance to the Landing was only twenty miles, the roads were in such a wretched condition that it was Saturday afternoon, April 5th, before they had reached the Federal line. Beauregard had charge of the formation for the battle and he had arranged the army in three parallel lines, the first consisting of Hardee's corps, then Bragg's, while Polk's corps formed the third line with Breckinridge in reserve. When the Confederates were in position for the attack, there was a council of war, at which Beauregard suggested an abandonment of the attack. He argued that the march had been so delayed by the condition of the roads that obviously the enemy must have had some notice, and consequently the effect of a surprise would be lost. But Johnston, realizing the hopelessness of a battle after the junction with Buell should have been effected, overruled him, and ordered an attack for daybreak.

It is difficult to conceive that a hostile army of 40,000 could have camped in the woods within two miles of the Federal line, and not have been discovered, but nevertheless, that is the fact. Grant usually spent the daytime at the Landing, and then retired at night to Savannah, where he was awaiting Buell. On April 4th there had been skirmishing on the picket-line, and as he was returning from the front, his horse slipped in the mud, and fell on his leg, causing an injury which kept him on crutches for the next few days. On April 5th

Grant wrote to Halleck: "I have scarcely the faintest idea of an attack being made upon us, but will be prepared should such a thing take place." It is evident that the victories of the earlier campaign had imbued all minds with the notion that the Confederates had not the spirit for an offensive attack, and that they would quietly await at Corinth the onset of their enemy. On the same day, Nelson's division of the Army of the Ohio arrived at Savannah, and was ordered by Grant to Hamburg, four miles above the Landing, where there was a road to Corinth, parallel to that from the Landing, so that the two columns could march on the common foe, within supporting distance of each other.

But the foe had no intention of awaiting an attack at Corinth. Early on Sunday morning, April 6th, Prentiss ordered three companies to make a skirmish in front of his lines. Advancing through the woods for a mile, they met Hardee's corps, about five o'clock, and thus the battle opened. The Confederates advanced slowly but steadily until they met the main line of battle under Sherman and Prentiss. It is difficult to describe the battle of Pittsburg Landing, or Shiloh, as the Confederates termed it. As has been well said by General Force: "A combat made up of numberless separate encounters of detached portions of broken lines, continually shifting position and changing direction in the forest and across ravines, filling an entire day, is almost incapable of a connected narrative."[1]

[1] M. F. Force, "From Fort Henry to Corinth," p. 124.

The nature of the ground hindered offensive operations. In general, the battle-field was shaped like an equilateral triangle, about three miles on each side. On the east was the line of the Tennessee River, with the steamboat-landing about midway, and here was the key of the position, since without its control reinforcements could not be received or a retreat conducted. On the northwest line were Snake and Owl Creeks, impassable to the enemy for a flank attack, spanned by two bridges about two miles apart, for the river and Purdy roads, by which Lew Wallace must approach. On the southwest, closing the mouth of the triangle, was the Federal line of battle, extending three miles from Sherman, holding the creek on the right, to Stuart by the river on the left. Within this area there were forest, ravines, marshes, clearings, impenetrable thickets and dense brush, averaging ten feet in height.

After the preliminary skirmishing, the full force of Hardee's attack fell upon Sherman and Prentiss. As the other columns of Confederates came up, the Northern troops were compelled gradually to retire. Then ensued a series of almost individual combats. A regiment or brigade would take position on the edge of a clearing, a marsh, or ravine, and hold it, until the overwhelming force of the enemy would outflank the northern line. Then the Federals would retire and form a new line of battle in the rear, reach out to connect with their friends on either side, and make a new stand. Thus, McCler-

nand's division had eight separate lines of battle during the day.

As soon as the heavy fighting commenced, the divisions nearer the Landing hurried up to the line of battle, and eventually by ten o'clock a fairly continuous line had been formed from right to left, as follows,—Sherman, McClernand, Wallace, Prentiss, Hurlburt and Stuart's brigade. In spite of the suddenness of the attack, and the rawness of many of the men, this line was held with great vigor and fortitude, and there can be no question but that the division commanders performed their work skilfully and bravely. But the Confederates had the advantage in numbers and the momentum of a successful attack. Moreover, in the excitement of the battle, and the disorder of continually shifting positions, men straggled from their battle-line and fled to the Landing. Even with these losses, the resistance was so great that it caused Johnston to lose sight of his original object, which had been to turn the Federal left so as to seize the Landing, and, instead, to waste precious time and life in direct frontal attacks.

This was the situation when Grant arrived. He had spent the night at Savannah, and while at breakfast, had heard the sound of heavy firing from Pittsburg Landing. Leaving a hurried note for Buell, who had arrived at Savannah during the previous night, he took a steamboat up the river to join his army. On his way, he stopped at Crump's Landing, and found Lew Wallace, with his men under arms,

awaiting orders. Arriving at the Landing about eight o'clock, Grant rode out on the line of battle, and recognizing the seriousness of the situation, dispatched orders for Wallace to come up at once, and also sent to Buell to bring up the Army of the Ohio. Unfortunately, Wallace's instructions as to roads were not clear, and he started on the inner or Purdy road, which would have brought him into the Confederate rear. In the afternoon he was found and recalled by Grant's orders to the river road, but the detour cost several valuable hours.

Meanwhile Grant, on the field of battle, rode from general to general, encouraging them with the hope of early reinforcements, and directing that the line be held as strongly as possible. He had little to do with the tactics of the battle. Rarely has there been seen a fight in which all of one army was continuously engaged against all of the other which was on the battle-field. As Grant said in his "Memoirs," it was "Southern dash against Northern pluck and endurance," and the best that generals could do was to stimulate the fighting qualities of their men.

In the early afternoon, about 2:30 P. M., Johnston, while leading his men in an assault against the centre, was mortally wounded, but his death caused no permanent cessation of hostilities. Eventually, about 5:30 P. M., a disaster occurred in the Federal centre, where Prentiss and Wallace had so bravely defended a slope against repeated attacks, that their position was called the "Hornets' Nest." Stuart was obliged to give ground, and his retreat

forced Hurlburt back. On the right, McClernand had reformed on Sherman. This left the two divisions in the centre isolated, and Bragg poured his men into the openings. Grant had impressed upon Prentiss the necessity of holding his position, and so he determined to maintain his ground. Wallace, with most of his division, cut his way through the enemy, receiving a mortal wound, which closed thus early a most promising military career. Prentiss, however, was surrounded by overwhelming forces, and with 2,200 of his men was obliged to surrender.

The stubborn resistance of the centre had saved the day. Webster, of Grant's staff, had formed a line of artillery on a bluff on the extreme left, to protect the Landing. Ammen's brigade of Nelson's division, the advance of the Army of the Ohio, went into the same position. The last Confederate attack on this bloody Sunday was made here, and with its failure, Beauregard, who had succeeded Johnston, ordered his men to cease fighting for the day. Meanwhile two gunboats, the *Tyler* and *Lexington*, had taken position in line with the artillery and shelled the woods beyond, and eventually the Confederates retired about a mile, or to the position of the Federal camps in the early morning.

During the night, Wallace's division arrived on the extreme right, and Nelson, Crittenden, and in the early morning, McCook, took position on the extreme left. These reinforcements brought 26,000 fresh men into line, and Grant determined to reopen the battle the next day. Buell was to command his

men on the left, and Grant, with the remnants of the Army of the Tennessee, on the right. At daybreak the battle commenced, this time the Federals being the aggressors. Against fresh troops and stronger numbers, Beauregard interposed a stubborn but ineffectual resistance. His men soon became exhausted, and large numbers fell out of line and straggled back to Corinth. Everywhere the aggressors were the victors, and in the early afternoon, when Grant himself headed an attack on the Corinth road, Beauregard gave the word to withdraw.

There was practically no pursuit. Two days of the hardest kind of fighting had used up the Army of the Tennessee, and while the Army of the Ohio had suffered much less in the battle, its men were exhausted with their forced marches to the battlefield. A vigorous pursuit might have taken Corinth, for the Confederates were equally worn out and disorganized, but this opportunity, like many another in the early days of the war, was not utilized.[1]

No battle of the war has given rise to more controversy, on both sides, than Pittsburg Landing. The critics charged that Grant's army was surprised in its tents, that there were no proper preparations, with an enemy so close at hand, and that the

[1] The total losses were reported as follows:

Federals—
Grant: killed, 1,513; wounded, 6,601; missing, 2,830.
Buell: " 241; " 1,807; " 55.
Confederates—
killed, 1,728; " 8,012; " 959.

battle was fought without system or direction. The Army of the Ohio asserted that it had saved the day, and that without Buell's reinforcement, the Army of the Tennessee would have been driven into the river; that when Buell arrived, Grant's army had, in large measure, straggled to the rear and was completely disorganized. On the other hand, Grant and Sherman vehemently denied that there was any surprise, and pointed out the alarm given by the pickets and the stubborn resistance during the hard fighting of the first day as evidence that their army did all that could be expected of it. Grant always claimed that the Confederates would have been defeated even if Buell had not arrived, and that the back-bone of the enemy's attack had been broken before any of the Army of the Ohio were in the battle-line. The truth probably lies between these two extremes. Grant was not expecting an aggressive movement by the enemy and consequently, only ordinary precautions were taken at the camp, but when the attack came there was no surprise in the sense that the defenders were immediately routed and fled. The stubborn resistance on the part of soldiers, many of whom were then obtaining their first baptism of fire, disproves absolutely this conception of a surprise at Shiloh. The victory was won by the common soldiers, and not by generalship.

Another point of controversy concerning which many excited narratives have been given, related to Grant's conduct on the field of battle. He gave few

orders, but then it was the kind of fight in which few orders needed to be given. Perhaps the best-substantiated episode is that reported by Whitelaw Reid, who was then serving his apprenticeship as a newspaper correspondent, and who states that in the late afternoon, when the last attack was made on the artillery protecting the Landing, Grant sat his horse, "quiet, thoughtful and almost stolid," and when one asked him if the prospect was not gloomy, replied, "Not at all. They can't force our lines around these batteries to-night—it is too late. . . . To-morrow we shall attack them with fresh troops and drive them, of course." From this conversation, says Reid, he dated the beginning of his belief in Grant's greatness. Many great generals have made mistakes through inexperience—even Frederick the Great counted Mollwitz as his training-school; and the best that can be said for Grant is that whatever mistakes may have been made at Shiloh were never repeated in his after-career.

Among the Confederates, the controversy has raged with equal bitterness. The friends of Johnston created an apotheosis of this much-admired commander and described him as dying in the moment of victory, the results of which were afterward thrown away by his successor. Bragg severely criticized Beauregard for ordering a cessation of attack at six o'clock on the first day, claiming that one more united effort would have broken down the resistance of the enemy and swept Grant's army into the river. Perhaps the fairest comment that

can be made is that the generalship on both sides showed lack of experience in handling large bodies of men, and that the fighting qualities on each side, both of soldiers and generals, were equally admirable.

The reports of the battle in the Northern newspapers created an outburst of public sentiment against Grant. It was freely charged that he had neglected his army through dissipation, that he had recklessly exposed his men, and that he was in the rear in the time of crisis. This public exasperation was doubtless increased by the dismay at the tremendous loss of life. Pittsburg Landing was the bloodiest battle that had ever been fought up to this time in the history of the Union. If this campaign had occurred a few months later, when the public mind had been accustomed to heavy losses on the battle-field, there probably would have been a better balance in the popular attitude. But the public was inexperienced as well as the generals, and there arose a sudden but wide-spread clamor for Grant's dismissal. In Congress Washburne was still his friend, but there were few others. Colonel A. K. McClure has narrated a visit to Lincoln which he made at this time to voice the protest against Grant's continuance in command. It was then that Lincoln replied, after long deliberation, "I can't spare this man; he fights." [1]

Upon the same day that Beauregard retired from the bloody field at Shiloh a great victory had been

[1] McClure, "Abraham Lincoln and Men of War-Times," p. 196.

won on the Mississippi, when the Confederate garrison at Island No. 10, surrounded and outnumbered, with Federal gunboats above and below, surrendered to General Pope. On April 11th, General Halleck arrived at Pittsburg Landing and taking personal command, proceeded to organize an attack upon Corinth. Ten days later Pope's army was brought down from the Mississippi and this gave Halleck 100,000 men, the largest army which had ever assembled west of the Alleghanies. He reorganized this well-equipped force into three divisions,—Thomas with the bulk of the Army of the Tennessee forming the right wing, Buell with the Army of the Ohio in the centre, and Pope with the Army of the Mississippi forming the left wing. Grant was ostensibly second in command, but as the other generals reported directly to Halleck he was practically ignored in the campaign which followed. Meanwhile Beauregard with his defeated army had been largely reinforced from Arkansas, so that he held Corinth with about 50,000 men.

The proper strategy would have suggested that the Confederate army was the real objective point, and that the overwhelming superiority of the Federals should have been employed in blocking the retreat of the enemy. Instead Halleck, whose native caution had been much increased by the slaughter at Shiloh, determined upon a careful siege. With excessive deliberation the Federal forces devoted the month of May to marching the twenty miles from Pittsburg Landing to Corinth. Beauregard recog-

nized that resistance was useless, and on May 29th removed his men and supplies, taking even the wounded, sixty miles south to Tupelo, leaving as trophies for the victors only a few logs mounted as Quaker cannon.

While the capture of Corinth was thus a barren victory, its possession was of great strategic importance. A few days later Fort Pillow was abandoned and on June 6th Memphis, the leading city of Tennessee, surrendered to the Federal fleet. Some weeks before, Farragut and Butler had conducted a successful campaign at New Orleans so that the Mississippi River was now open at its mouth and was under Federal control except for the fortifications at Vicksburg, four hundred miles below Memphis. Again a golden opportunity was missed. If twenty thousand men had been sent against Vicksburg which then had not been extensively fortified and where there was the only line of railroad running east and west under Confederate control, it is probable that the summer of 1862 would have witnessed the opening of the Mississippi. Instead Halleck divided his forces. The Army of the Ohio under Buell, and later Thomas, was sent east along the line of the Memphis railroad to threaten Chattanooga. Beauregard, who had been relieved from command because of non-success, was succeeded by Bragg who led over half of his army by way of Mobile to Chattanooga to block Buell's plans. The remainder of the Confederate forces under Van Dorn remained in Mississippi to protect Vicksburg.

During the Corinth campaign Grant occupied an unenviable position. The clamor against him in the North, while it had not affected his associates in the battle, had certainly inspired Halleck with distrust, and he was practically in disgrace. Sherman, in his "Memoirs," states that shortly after the evacuation of Corinth, he learned that Grant was going to leave the army. He at once rode out to the headquarters and found Grant and his staff packing up. When he inquired the reason, Grant said, "Sherman, you know. You know I am in the way here. I have stood it as long as I can, and can endure it no longer." His faithful friend remonstrated, pointing out the sudden changes in public sentiment which might be expected, and finally Grant reconsidered his intention. Better days were in store. McClellan's failure before Richmond had diverted the clamor to another, and on July 11th Halleck was ordered to Washington to command all of the armies of the North. He took Pope with him and left Grant in charge of the district of west Tennessee embracing the territory west of the Cumberland River with headquarters at Corinth and Memphis.

Halleck's grand army had been so depleted with detachments that Grant had scarcely 50,000 men to hold the district from Cairo to Corinth, most of whom were needed for garrison duty. Grant placed Sherman at Memphis and made his own headquarters at Corinth. For some time his orders prohibited offensive operations, as it was expected that

his men might be needed to reinforce Buell. Moreover the controversy about Shiloh was still raging in the newspapers and Grant's superiors had not yet full confidence in his ability. Writing to his father on August 3d, he said, "You must not expect me to write in my own defense nor to permit it from any one about me. I know that the feeling of the troops under my command is favorable to me, and so long as I continue to do my duty faithfully it will remain so. . . . I do not expect nor want the support of the Cincinnati press on my side." Later, on September 17th, he wrote to his father again: "I have not an enemy in the world who has done me so much injury as you in your efforts in my defense. I require no defenders and for my sake let me alone."

In the autumn of 1862, two decided victories were won by Grant's command at Iuka and Corinth. General Rosecrans commanded at Corinth, and was opposed by a strong army which Price had led from Missouri to coöperate in Bragg's Northern invasion. Price seized Iuka, which was twenty miles southeast from Corinth, and Grant planned an attack upon this isolated force. Rosecrans, with 9,000 men, advanced from Corinth by a western road, while Grant, with 8,000 men under Ord, hurried toward Iuka from the north. Price attacked Rosecrans on September 19th, and was fought to a standstill, but learning of the approach of Ord's column, he hastily evacuated Iuka, and abandoning all hope of joining Bragg, he slipped around Rosecrans, and

joined his forces to Van Dorn's army in northern Mississippi.

Early in October Van Dorn united all of the forces under his command for the attack upon Corinth, which he vainly hoped would throw Grant back to Fort Donelson. Grant had not sufficient forces to garrison properly all the points of this district, but learning of the approach of Van Dorn, he hurried McPherson and Hurlburt to Rosecrans's aid and the battle of Corinth, which was fought on October 4th, was a complete victory for the North, Van Dorn's frenzied assaults being repulsed with great slaughter. On October 25th, Grant was placed in command of the department of Tennessee charged with the special duty of taking Vicksburg. Reinforcements were hurried to him from the northwest, and after a few weeks he was once more in a position to assume the offensive.

He was now to enter upon the campaign which from the point of view of tactics and strategy must ever be regarded as the most brilliant of his career!

CHAPTER VIII

VICKSBURG

THE autumn of 1862 was the high-water mark of Confederate success. Along three lines the armies of the South invaded the territory held by their foe, in a vain effort to throw back the tide of Northern invasion. In the East, McClellan's failure before Richmond gave Lee an opportunity for the invasion of Maryland, which finally culminated in defeat at Antietam. In the Middle West Bragg united his forces for a sudden movement north, and passing Buell's army, threatened Nashville, Louisville and even Cincinnati, and seizing Lexington, inaugurated a secessionist governor for Kentucky in Frankfort. Eventually, this movement spent its force, and Bragg was compelled to withdraw again to Tennessee. In the line of the Mississippi, the Confederate advance under Van Dorn and Price attained least momentum, and, at Iuka and Corinth, was most decisively repelled, and as a result the successful commander of this department increased most in prestige.

Meanwhile, a change had come over the character of the war. The bloody battles of the East and West had ended all visions of an easy victory, and both sides now realized the intensity of the struggle.

It was war, cruel and grim, to be continued on a continental scale until there was a complete triumph, and gradually public opinion became educated to the magnitude of the task. "Up to the battle of Shiloh, I, as well as thousands of other citizens, believed that the rebellion against the Government would collapse suddenly and soon, if a decisive victory could be gained over any of its armies. . . . But when Confederate armies . . . assumed the offensive and made such a gallant effort to regain what had been lost, then, indeed, I gave up all idea of saving the Union except by complete conquest." Such was Grant's opinion in the "Memoirs," and with the spread of this conviction the war now assumed a sterner and more sombre aspect. The Confederates were no longer "erring brothers"—they were enemies,—traitors with arms in their hands whose power must be completely destroyed.

As the early visions of reconciliation vanished, the policy of the Government became more determined and radical. Against the tremendous pressure of the Abolitionists, Lincoln stood out strongly against converting a war for the Union into a war against slavery. But when this policy of moderation had given opportunity for reviving and consolidating the spirit of loyalty to the Union in the border states, it became evident that slave labor was being used by the South in many lines which hampered the success of the North. Those who were to be the chief beneficiaries of a successful war were employed, under the pressure of their masters,

in erecting fortifications, raising supplies, etc., for the defeat of the war. Some of the early commanders recognized this problem when they ingeniously declared the negro to be "contraband of war," and encouraged the escape of slaves to the Northern lines where they could be used in the work of the campaign. Public sentiment in the North had come to recognize that a restoration of the Union with slavery was impossible, and hence was ready to support the policy of emancipation set forth by Lincoln in the memorable Proclamation of September 22, 1862.

Until this announcement Grant was but little interested in abolition. His early associations with his wife's family in St. Louis had enabled him to see the patriarchal aspect of slavery which presented its most favorable light. As a soldier, it was his business to obey orders and to fight, not to discuss political policies. "So long as I hold a commission in the army," he wrote to Washburne, "I have no views of my own to carry out. Whatever may be the orders of my superiors and the law, I will execute. No man can be efficient as a commander who sets his own notions above law and those whom he has sworn to obey. When Congress enacts anything too odious for me to execute, I will resign." This military attitude had already brought upon him the criticism of the extremists. After Fort Donelson, it was freely charged that he had driven away negroes from his camp, and had even sent slaves back to their masters. The basis for the charge seems to have been this,—some negroes rep-

resented that they were free men, brought to the fort to work for pay. These were allowed to go away to their homes, but even thus early slave-owners were not permitted to pass through the camp in search of slaves.

While commander at Memphis, the problem of the negroes became more acute. In a country where secession was rampant, practically all of the slave-holders were enemies, and the slaves were not slow to avail themselves of the presence of the armies of the North. The plantations were left deserted, although in many cases the fields were ripe for the harvest, and a frightened horde of negroes followed the armies, asking for protection, food and all the necessaries of life. Grant wired to Halleck for instructions, and when word was received that these freedmen could be employed, he at once determined to organize them as a help to his campaign. Early in November he appointed John Eaton, then chaplain of an Ohio regiment, to take charge of the contrabands. Henceforth, the negroes were received by the army, and Eaton assigned them to work,—picking cotton, cutting wood, transporting supplies, etc. They were paid a regular wage for their work, and the cotton from the abandoned plantations was sold for the credit of the Government, to meet the expense of their subsistence. In this work, paralleled by the experience of other commanders on the Atlantic Coast, was the inception of the idea of the Freedmen's Bureau. There were some commanders who regarded this long-oppressed race with

contempt, and who spoke slightingly of efforts to give the negro the dignity of self-support, but from the beginning, says Eaton, "there was no room for doubt as to the value and rarity of Grant's sympathy and foresight."[1]

Nor was the care for the freedmen the only non-military duty of a department commander in a conquered region. The desire for cotton brought many speculators to Memphis, and they were soon followed by a rapacious army of contractors, sutlers, etc., whose patriotism was limited by their desire to make money out of the Government. With this class Grant was never popular. His wide experience as a quartermaster, and his familiarity with business conditions, as well as his personal integrity, made it impossible to bribe him, and, in army matters, difficult to fool. In one case the contractors for forage had formed a pool, and the lowest price was one-third higher than the price in the open market. The quartermaster-general at St. Louis approved the contract, but Grant annulled it, and when a contest was threatened, notified the contractor that he would never approve a voucher for a single cent under that contract. When one of Lincoln's closest political friends interceded in a hay contract, Grant threatened him with arrest. Hastening to Washington, the indignant lawyer laid his complaint before the President, to be met with the characteristic retort,—"If I were you, I should keep out of Ulysses Simpson's bailiwick, for to the

[1] John Eaton, "Grant, Lincoln and the Freedmen," p. 45.

best of my knowledge and belief, Grant will keep his promise!"

While all this administrative work was progressing, large additions to the army had been received, and the call of the country was peremptory for an advance to Vicksburg. At the end of 1862, the leading strongholds of the South were Richmond, Vicksburg and Chattanooga, and of these three, it may be questioned whether even the capital equaled Vicksburg in its importance to the life of the Confederacy. The Red River, which flows through Texas and Louisiana for 1,200 miles before it empties into the Mississippi, was the great artery of commerce, whereby food supplies were brought to the Southern armies. When Halleck's advance was stayed at Corinth, Van Dorn had used his men in creating elaborate fortifications, above and below the Red River, so as to protect this line of communication. About thirty miles below the mouth of the Red River was Port Hudson, which had now become a fortified post of considerable importance. But one hundred miles above its mouth, nature had united with the highest engineering skill which the Confederates could command, to make a defense which at first view seemed impregnable.

Vicksburg was situated on a line of bluffs, some two hundred feet high, on one of the many bends of the Mississippi River, about two hundred miles south of Memphis in a straight line, but double that distance by the many twists and loops of the river. The elevation which parallels the Mississippi on its

east bank from Columbus to Memphis leaves the river at the latter point and goes inland, rejoining the river again at Vicksburg, and thence the high ground continues to Port Hudson. Some miles north of Vicksburg is the mouth of the Yazoo River, which runs its tangled course northward, generally at the foot of the line of bluffs. Between the Yazoo and the Mississippi is an area about two hundred miles long and sixty in width, of flat low land, pierced with rivers, bayous, and swamps, subject to overflow in fluctuations of tide and season, and altogether impenetrable to invasion. The Confederates had fortified the line of bluffs northward from Vicksburg, the leading centre being at Haines' Bluff, about twelve miles from the city. South from Vicksburg, they had similarly fortified Warrenton and Grand Gulf, twenty-five miles below. Such then was the scene of the next campaign. The cannon on the heights of Vicksburg commanded the commerce of the Mississippi, and protected the traffic of the Red River, and the flat land north of the city was nature's veto to an invading army.

Nor were the Confederates slow in rallying to the defense of this indispensable post. After the battle of Corinth, Van Dorn had been relieved, and Lieutenant-General John C. Pemberton was placed in charge of the defense. He was a native of Pennsylvania, but had come under the influence of Jefferson Davis in his army service, and was highly esteemed by his chief. Pemberton was given about 50,000 men to hold the line of the Mississippi, ex-

tending from Port Hudson to Haines' Bluff, and then back to Jackson, the capital of the state, forty miles east from Vicksburg. As Grant's plans developed and the menace of his forces was more clearly recognized, reinforcements were sent to Pemberton from Bragg, and General Joseph E. Johnston, of whom Grant afterward said that he gave him more anxiety than any other Confederate general, was placed in charge of both Bragg and Pemberton, so as to promote unity in operations.

Two early attempts had been made upon Vicksburg in 1862, neither of which resulted in any degree of success. In May, after the taking of New Orleans, Farragut came up the river, with some of his fleet, and a small land force under General Williams. After a careful reconnaissance, they demanded the surrender of Vicksburg, but when it was refused, they had not the force for a successful attack. So after a bombardment the fleet withdrew. Next month Farragut returned, this time with mortar-boats, escorting General Williams with a force of 3,200 men. Williams landed his men on the west bank, and started a canal through the neck of land opposite Vicksburg. Meanwhile, Farragut bombarded the forts, and eventually led his fleet up the river, past the batteries. It was then that he wrote to Halleck, asking for 15,000 men to take the city, but the latter had already commenced the dispersion of the grand army at Corinth, and hence refused the request. A few weeks later, Davis led his fleet, recently victorious at Memphis, down the river and

joined Farragut, and both squadrons now threatened the city. But the bluffs of the "lofty hill-city," as Mark Twain called Vicksburg, were impregnable to a gunboat attack, and when the river began to fall, Farragut returned to the South, and Davis could only maintain a blockade of the river north of the Vicksburg batteries. In the autumn of 1862 Van Dorn extended and strengthened the fortifications, so that instead of the twenty-six guns which Williams encountered, there were one hundred and seventy-two when Grant entered the city!

By November, 1862, Grant was in sufficient force to undertake an offensive campaign, and the proper line of advance was now the question. Up to this time the Mississippi had been opened, through a combination of the gunboats operating on the river, and a parallel advance of the army, marching in the interior, and compelling the abandonment of various posts on the river, as they were successively outflanked. The success of this method naturally suggested to Grant an advance into the interior of Mississippi, which would compel the abandonment of the great fortifications on the river. Such an advance required, however, large quantities of supplies for his army, and he could no longer use the Tennessee River for this purpose. He was obliged, therefore, to guard the railroads from Memphis and Corinth to the front, and to accumulate supplies at various posts in the rear. John Fiske has estimated that an army of 50,000 men, three days from its base of supplies, would require 1,900 wagons, drawn by

11,000 animals, each day's march moving from the base, of course, increasing the requirements. Grant would probably have preferred to have abandoned Corinth, and to draw his supplies from Memphis, rather than on the longer line from Columbus to Corinth, but Halleck would not agree, so in preparing for an advance large forces were left on garrison duty in the rear.

While Grant, with 40,000 men, was to advance on the interior, Sherman, with about 30,000, taken from Memphis and Helena, was to proceed down the Mississippi, and attack Vicksburg in front. Although this plan involved a division of the army, which with an enterprising foe might have resulted in disaster, it had a possibility of success. Grant hoped, by his direct attack, to keep Pemberton's army engaged in the interior, so that Sherman's advance might have the advantage of surprise, and find Vicksburg bereft of defenders. By the middle of December, Grant had advanced to Oxford, about one-fourth of the way to Jackson, but meanwhile the foe was concentrating against him. Bragg sent his cavalry, under Forrest, over the Tennessee River to cut the railroad between Corinth and Columbus, and that dashing commander succeeded admirably. Meanwhile Van Dorn, with 3,500 of Pemberton's cavalry, advanced against Grant's communications, and on December 20th seized Holly Springs, destroying practically all of the stores there. This unexpected reverse severed Grant's line of communications, and he at once ordered a retreat,

during which his men subsisted by foraging on the country. By January 8th he was again in touch with Memphis, and learning that Sherman had been defeated, he ordered his army to the river, intending to make his next advance from that direction.

Meanwhile, Sherman had taken his men down the Mississippi to the mouth of the Yazoo; thence sailing up that tortuous stream, he landed at Chickasaw bayou, on the low land in front of the line of bluffs. After a careful examination of the ground north from Vicksburg to Haines' Bluff, Sherman determined to attack about five miles north of the city in the centre of an elevation known as Walnut Hills, or Chickasaw Bluffs. On the high ground were the rifle-pits and artillery of the Confederates. Below, there was a succession of streams and marshes, only passable along certain clearly-defined paths. It would be impossible to conceive of a more difficult place for an assault, for although Sherman had a marked superiority in numbers, he had no opportunity to use it. On December 29th Sherman assaulted, and although his men showed their usual gallantry, the loss of nearly two thousand in killed and wounded without effecting a lodgment on the bluffs showed the strength of the enemy's position. At this time Sherman had not heard of Grant's retreat, and yet his men could see that train loads of reinforcements were being hurried to Vicksburg. Convinced that there was no chance of a successful surprise, and threatened with flood on the low ground by the heavy rains, Sherman retired to the

mouth of the Yazoo, where he was joined by McClernand, who now took charge of the expedition.

During the autumn of 1862 Grant's plans were seriously affected by the anomalous position of General McClernand, who had served under him during several of his earlier campaigns. This ambitious leader, while not a West Pointer, had shown some aptitude for military work. Lincoln appreciated his services with special good-will because, although a Democrat, McClernand had thrown himself with ardent loyalty into the war for the Union. In 1862 he had visited Washington, and received confidential orders to enlist soldiers in the northwest for an expedition to open the Mississippi, under his own command. Halleck never wavered in his purpose that McClernand was to serve under Grant, but McClernand himself hoped and expected to receive an independent command. Orders were sent to Grant to place McClernand in command of the Mississippi expedition, but Sherman started before these orders could be communicated to him, and it was only after the battle that McClernand overtook him. Sherman, now learning for the first time of Grant's retirement to Memphis, suggested that his force should be utilized in an attack upon Arkansas Post, a strong fort forty miles up the Arkansas River, which could be made the base of flank attacks upon any army operating against Vicksburg. McClernand approved of the idea, and on January 9th the fort was invested, and two days later surrendered with over 5,000 prisoners. McClernand

then planned an Arkansas campaign, but Grant had now arrived in Memphis in supreme command, and was not willing that the best portion of his army should be drafted off in what he called a "wild-goose chase." So McClernand and Sherman were ordered back to Milliken's Bend, where on January 30th Grant assumed personal charge.

Meanwhile, the plan of campaign was changed. Reorganizing his army into four corps, Grant left the Sixteenth Corps, under Hurlburt, at Memphis to protect western Tennessee, and ordered McPherson, with the Seventeenth Corps, down the river to join McClernand and Sherman, who were henceforth to command the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Corps respectively. Now commenced the real siege of Vicksburg, the problem being to effect a lodgment on the high ground east of the line of bluffs. It is difficult to describe the operations of the next three months, for it was a warfare with nature, in which the enemy played little part. Several lines of approach were carried on at the same time by different parts of the command. First, it was decided to finish Williams' canal, across the neck of land west of Vicksburg, so that the fleet could pass below the batteries. But when the river rose with the spring rains, it flooded not only the canal, but all the low ground surrounding it, driving the soldiers for protection to the levee. In addition, it was soon evident that the southern end of the canal would be commanded by the Confederate guns at Warrenton, —so this plan was abandoned.

A second project was also attempted on the west bank of the river, to unite Lake Providence, seventy miles above Vicksburg, with a series of bayous, leading eventually into the Red River, one hundred miles below, so as to make an involved route of four hundred miles, whereby supplies might be carried by boat to an army operating below Vicksburg. This plan necessitated cutting a channel through swamps, digging up stumps and breaking levees, and was so complicated that eventually it was abandoned as impracticable.

Meanwhile, on the east side of the Mississippi, an equally difficult experiment was attempted. Below Helena, the Coldwater River, one of the branches of the Yazoo, came within a few miles of the Mississippi, and if a connection could be established, the gunboats could get into the Yazoo, and land an army on the high ground above Haines' Bluff. To this end, the levee at Yazoo Pass was broken, and eventually the gunboats came down the Coldwater to the Tallahatchie, but near where the latter stream unites with the Yallabusha to form the Yazoo, the Confederates had constructed a strong earthwork, Fort Pemberton, impregnable against gunboat attack, and too well surrounded by water to permit of an assault. So the Yazoo Pass expedition returned.

The last attempt from the North was developed in March, when Porter and Sherman went up Steele's Bayou north of Milliken's Bend, intent on finding a channel to the Big Sunflower River, which empties

into the Yazoo, below Fort Pemberton but above Haines' Bluff, thus affording an opportunity to pierce the line of bluffs without a direct assault. But the vigilant foe blocked the narrow channel, and the gunboats, unable to turn around, were obliged to back out of the bayou, with rudders unshipped.

These successive failures were very dispiriting to the North. It was the dark period after the bloody repulse at Fredericksburg, and there was little good news from the front. It was the time when Halleck sent to his three leading generals in the front the message that there was a vacant major-generalship in the regular army which he would give to the first one to win a decisive victory. Moreover, the war correspondents with the army could not understand the strategy of the campaign, and some wrote home dispatches which were neither just nor intelligent. One noted newspaper man, trying to forward McClernand's ambitions, wrote to Secretary Chase,—"Our noble army of the Mississippi is being wasted by the foolish, drunken, stupid Grant. He can't organize or control or fight an army. I have no personal feeling about it, but I know he is an ass." It was at this time that Lincoln answered those who accused Grant of intemperance with the famous retort,—"If I knew what brand of whiskey he drinks, I would send a barrel to some other generals." Because of these doubts and suspicions, Stanton sent Charles A. Dana, then a special agent of the War Department, to the army before Vicks-

burg, so that the government might receive trustworthy accounts of its real movements.

Too much publicity is no aid to generalship, and the American people have had frequent illustrations of this truth. Thus, once a correspondent was welcomed in a gunboat, and shown every courtesy in examining its defenses; later, in his article, he described the best methods of attacking and sinking the boat! Again, Grant ordered a special battery to be planted near Vicksburg, his men working at night to preserve secrecy. Two days before the guns were to be used, a Confederate officer, meeting Sherman under a flag of truce, laughingly referred to this battery, and it was found that the whole story had been published in a Memphis newspaper several days before. Of course, whatever appeared in the Northern press was soon forwarded to the South, and the result was discouraging. Sherman's comment is interesting. "All persons who don't have to fight must be kept out of camp, else secrecy . . . is an impossibility."

Despite the clamors and the failures, Grant was formulating a new plan, so daring in conception that even his chosen confidant, Sherman, protested. He had determined to have the gunboats run past the Confederate batteries, escorting sufficient supplies for a short campaign; then he would lead his army below Vicksburg on the west side, cross the river and penetrate into the interior, in the midst of his opponents. Sherman felt that this plan was impossible,—it imperiled communications, and an

army cut off from its base of supplies might be forced to surrender. The proper plan would have been to return to Memphis, and to come down the line of the railroad, as Grant had first attempted. But Grant clearly recognized that public opinion would style such a movement as a retreat, and in the then discouraged condition of sentiment, any reverse might be disastrous to the cause.

With the zealous coöperation of Porter, some of the gunboats, together with transports, passed the batteries on the night of April 16th. At the same time, McClernand's and McPherson's corps were ordered to New Carthage, and eventually to Perkins' Plantation, and Hard Times, opposite Grand Gulf, below Vicksburg on the west side. To prevent the concentration of Confederates in Grant's front, Sherman was ordered to make a feint at Haines' Bluff, north of the city. Grant planned this feint with genuine reluctance, fearing lest the correspondents would report that Sherman was again defeated, but that fiery soldier told him to make his own plans "and let the people mind their own business." At the same time, a cavalry raid was organized by Hurlburt, which was one of the most successful operations of the war. General B. H. Grierson, with 1,700 men, started from La Grange on April 17th, and destroying railroads and telegraph wires, burning factories, stores and bridges, he brought his men to Baton Rouge on May 2d, having spread confusion and dismay throughout the entire state of Mississippi. It was unfortunate for Pemberton that the

cavalry of his department was then with Bragg, and Van Dorn having been killed, he was without proper information as to the movements of the enemy.

Grant's plan was carried out with complete success in every detail. Sherman manipulated ten regiments before Haines' Bluff with so much adroitness that Pemberton concentrated to oppose what he was certain was the main attack. Meanwhile, Grant, having brought his main army to Hard Times, opposite Grand Gulf, twenty-five miles below Vicksburg, although seventy miles by the river, ordered the gunboats to attack Grand Gulf, hoping to force a surrender which would give him a landing on the east side. On April 29th Porter opened a vigorous attack on the batteries at Grand Gulf, but after several hours it was apparent that the gunboats could not silence works at an elevation of two hundred feet. Blocked, but not dismayed, Grant, who had 10,000 men on transports during the attack, ready to cross at the first favorable moment, disembarked his men and marched them across a narrow peninsula to the south. Here an intelligent negro was found, who told him that from Bruinsberg, six miles below Grand Gulf on the east side, there was a good road to Port Gibson, twelve miles away, the terminus of the railroad from Grand Gulf. On April 30th he hurried the Thirteenth Corps across the great river, and found Bruinsberg unoccupied. With three days' rations, the men were started at once on the road to Port Gibson, and reached in

safety the high ground. It was an hour after midnight before McClernand found the enemy, posted four miles west of Port Gibson, and consisting of 8,000 men, under General Bowen, withdrawn from the garrison of Grand Gulf.

On May 1st was fought the first battle of the campaign, when Grant, with McClernand's Corps, and part of McPherson's, attacked the Confederate lines at Port Gibson, and having an overwhelming superiority in numbers, forced a speedy retreat. Bowen retreated to Grand Gulf, and then fearing complete investment, abandoned his post, crossed the Big Black River, and fled north toward Vicksburg. On May 3d the gunboats took possession of Grand Gulf, and Grant, with an escort of twenty men, rode into the town and resumed communications with the rest of his forces. He had successfully planted his army on the high ground east of the river, and had thus circumvented nature's obstacles.

During the next few days he displayed a vigor and a command of the situation that were remarkable. The rest of the Seventeenth Corps was brought over the Mississippi; Sherman was ordered to abandon his attack on Haines' Bluff, which had served its purpose, and to bring his men down the river; ammunition wagons were fitted up, and supplies distributed. Grant had now reached the critical point of the campaign. Until this time he had intended to take Grand Gulf for a base of supplies, and then to send a corps south to aid Banks in taking

Port Hudson. Then with these combined forces he could make an overwhelming attack upon Vicksburg. But he received word from Banks that his forces would not be ready to attack Port Hudson before May 10th, and that he had only 15,000 men. To wait a week would give Pemberton ample opportunity to recover from the surprise, and Grant at once decided to push into the interior with his three corps, sever all communication with the fleet, and live off of the country. By May 7th his army was concentrated on the east side of the river, and with 45,000 men he started his march into the interior.

With his left wing near the Big Black River, Grant aimed his army toward the railroad from Vicksburg to Jackson. After five days of marching, McPherson, who was then on the right, found a Confederate division at Raymond. After a brisk battle, the Confederates fled toward Jackson, about eighteen miles to the northwest. Instantly Grant recognized his opportunity. If part of his foes retired toward Vicksburg, and another part toward Jackson, there was an opportunity for him to place his army in between, and fight them separately. Meanwhile Johnston had arrived at Jackson, and when the discouraging news of Grant's progress was given to him, he at once wired to Richmond, "I am too late." Pemberton, with approximately 40,000 men, was holding the line of the Big Black and Vicksburg, and Johnston had about 12,000 men at Jackson, but Grant, with 45,000, was in between,

and prepared to push his advantage to the utmost. On May 14th, McPherson attacked Jackson, and Johnston's weak divisions were overwhelmed. That night the Union forces were in possession of the capital of Mississippi, and Grant slept in the same house which Johnston had occupied the night before. Leaving Sherman to destroy the bridges, railroads and factories around Jackson, Grant hurried McPherson to the west to join McClernand in a search for Pemberton.

In his hasty retreat from Jackson, Johnston ordered Pemberton to abandon Vicksburg, and to bring his army North for a junction, so that their united forces might face Grant. But Pemberton, full of the importance of Vicksburg, instead marched south, intent upon cutting Grant's line of communications. He could not accomplish this, for Grant's men were subsisting from the country, but he lost valuable time, and when he finally turned north, Grant was ready for him. The decisive battle of the campaign was fought at Champion's Hill, where the railroad crosses Baker's Creek, about twenty miles west of Jackson. Here Pemberton took a strong position with 25,000 men, the rest of his forces holding the Vicksburg line. Without waiting for Sherman, who had been ordered up from Jackson, Grant determined to attack on May 16th, with only McPherson's and McClernand's Corps.

The Battle of Champion's Hill was fought with nearly equal forces. On the right, Grant took personal charge of the divisions of Hovey, Logan and

Crocker, and after hard fighting, succeeded in turning the enemy's position, and even for a time controlled their line of retreat. On the left, McClernand was slow in getting his men into the battle, and as a result, while Pemberton's army was routed, it was not destroyed. Retreating in wild haste, leaving 2,500 prisoners and twenty-four pieces of artillery, Pemberton fled to the Big Black River, where he had extensive fortifications. One of his strongest divisions, under Loring, became separated from the main body, and fled to the south. Eventually, after a wide detour, it united with Johnston's forces, and so escaped capture.

Meanwhile Grant, with his army reunited, pushed on to the Big Black, where Pemberton had brought up reinforcements from Vicksburg. There was scarcely a battle, for Pemberton's men were demoralized, and were fighting with a river in their rear. When, on May 17th, they saw the preparations for outflanking their position, the Confederates fled, and Grant drove them across the river, with a loss of 1,700 prisoners. The crossing of the Big Black caused but a few hours' delay. Pemberton was in no condition to resist, and calling in his outlying garrisons, determined to retreat to the fortifications of Vicksburg. Haines' Bluff was abandoned, and the line of the Yazoo given over to Federal control. On the afternoon of May 18th, Grant and Sherman rode out on the Chickasaw Bluffs, where, less than five months before, the latter had suffered a bloody repulse. "This is a campaign," exclaimed

Sherman enthusiastically. "Until this moment, I never thought your movement a success. But this is a success, even if we never take the town."

It was well-merited praise. Eighteen days had elapsed since Grant had landed at Bruinsberg. In that time he had marched over two hundred miles, fought and won five pitched battles, taken 8,000 prisoners and eighty-eight cannon, and had scattered a foe who had all of the advantages of number, position, supplies and knowledge of the ground. It was the best-conducted campaign of the war. Moreover, the credit belonged to Grant alone. Sherman had protested against the plan. Halleck had ordered him to go down to Port Hudson,—orders which fortunately were not delivered until after the opening victories had brought success within grasp. No one else had the daring to commend the bold design of cutting loose from communications, so as to use all of his army in fighting the foe. In many ways it was the crowning moment of Grant's career.

But Vicksburg had not yet surrendered. By May 18th Pemberton had all of his forces within its fortifications, and although demoralized by successive defeats, he had still more than 30,000 men, mostly veterans, who knew the advantages of their position. During the night the Union forces took positions outside the city,—Sherman on the north, McClernand on the south and McPherson in the centre. The line was too long for Grant's army, and there was a gap of four miles between McClernand and the

river, through which Pemberton might have attempted an escape if his men had been equal to the effort. On the afternoon of May 19th, Grant ordered an assault, in which Sherman's men advanced to the ditch outside the fortifications, but little was accomplished except to disclose the strength of a position which bristled with batteries and fortified works.

After three days' quiet, Grant determined to try another assault. His men were confident, the foe were dispirited, and he felt that his soldiers would not willingly submit to the slow and laborious requirements of a siege, when they felt that an instant victory was possible. Moreover, Johnston was now gathering an army to relieve Vicksburg, and it was a question how serious this effort might be. On May 22d, therefore, the assault was ordered all along the line. In spite of the vigor and bravery of the assailants, the result was a complete defeat. The Union soldiers would run to the ditch and, in some cases, succeeded in planting their flags on the parapets, but the fire of the enemy, most of whom fought from complete cover, simply annihilated the attacking columns. After the first reverse, Grant, who was on the right and centre of his line, received word from McClernand that he had taken parts of two forts, and requesting that a vigorous attack be maintained so as to prevent the enemy from massing in front of his position. For this reason a second assault was ordered in the early afternoon, and with exactly the same result. Vicksburg could not be

taken by an assault, and Grant was much disappointed to learn that McClernand's over-sanguine temperament had misled him in the report which caused the second charge.

After the second assault, the army settled down to the slow processes of a siege. As the tidings of the successful campaign reached home, every effort was made to hurry reinforcements to the front. It was thoroughly appreciated that Johnston would be reinforced, so as to give him a relieving army, and Halleck ordered Banks, Schofield, Rosecrans and Burnside to send all extra soldiers to Grant. Banks was now besieging Port Hudson, and Rosecrans had started on his campaign for Chattanooga, but Burnside and Schofield responded willingly, and by the middle of June Grant had over 70,000 men. His first reinforcements were used to complete the line of investment, and, as others arrived, they were hurried to Haines' Bluff and the line of the Big Black, where under Sherman's immediate direction they formed a protecting army, ready for Johnston's advance. But with all his efforts, Johnston could only collect 25,000 men, and while he made many cautious moves in the direction of Vicksburg, the Union forces were too strong to justify a successful attack.

Meanwhile, Grant had relieved McClernand from command, and Ord had taken his place. This action precipitated a long and acute controversy. In the earlier campaigns of Fort Donelson and Shiloh McClernand had won the reputation of a good

fighter and had been highly praised by Grant. But when the Mississippi expedition was started, he had expected the command, and his disappointment resulted in insubordination. Grant was slow in reaching a decision against his senior general. He knew that McClernand had recommended to Stanton to appoint his ancient enemy, Captain K——, who had preferred charges against him at Cairo, in charge of the river transportation. He knew that when in January he had assumed personal charge of the army, that McClernand had bitterly protested to Stanton. But it was during the campaign that McClernand's actions finally convinced his chief that there was an unpleasant duty to be performed. Thus, in crossing the Mississippi, McClernand delayed at a critical time, which might have involved the whole campaign. Again, at Champion's Hill, he was slow in coming to the attack. When the siege had commenced, he did not push the lines of investment with anything like the vigor of the others. Indeed, Dana reported to Stanton:—"My own judgment is that McClernand has not the qualifications necessary for a good commander even of a regiment." Stanton replied that Grant had full authority to command his army, and would be held accountable for the use of that power.

The climax came when, after the assault on May 22d, McClernand published a congratulatory order to his soldiers, in which he extolled their prowess in bombastic language, and referred slightingly to the achievements of the other corps. The order was

published in a St. Louis newspaper, and thus was brought to the attention of Sherman and McPherson, who instantly complained to Grant. This matter was too serious to be ignored, and Grant had good reason to believe that any accident to himself would place at the head of his army one in whom none of the other generals had confidence. As a result, McClernand was ordered back to Cairo, and thenceforth disappears from the story of Grant's career.

It was fortunate for Grant that, during the exciting weeks of the campaign and the patient endurance of the siege, he had Dana at his side as the direct representative of the War Department. Grant was never fond of writing long dispatches describing his work, but Dana relieved him of this task in large measure; and by his discriminating praise and sympathetic insight, he gave Lincoln and Stanton their first clear conception of their Western commander. Dana was much impressed with the hearty friendship and coöperation which existed between Grant, Sherman and McPherson—three sons of Ohio, who had scarcely known each other before the war, whose patriotic support of each other's plans was in pleasing contrast with the jealousies of some of the Eastern armies.

During the prosecution of the siege the life at the headquarters was interesting and pleasant. Confident of eventual success and with increasing resources, Grant could afford to take a little enjoyment in life. His oldest son, Fred, then a boy of thirteen, had been with him since the battle of Port

Gibson and was a deserved favorite at the headquarters. Some of the members of his staff, who had been appointed from motives of personal friendship, were of little use, but every visitor to the camp was impressed with the loyalty and devotion of Rawlins and the zeal with which he watched over the interests of his chief. Grant had issued orders that no beer or ale should be sold within sixty miles of the camp. By the advice of his surgeons, this order was relaxed in favor of the men who were digging saps and traverses, to whom, in the heated weather of June, iced ale was served in the trenches. There were many visitors from the North curious to see the operations of a siege at close range, and sometimes wine was smuggled through the lines for their entertainment. Rawlins found some of this wine near Grant's headquarters, and at once had the officer who brought it transferred to another branch of the service. The letter which he wrote Grant at this time is one of the most impressive contributions to the personal literature of the war, and is affecting testimony to the loyalty of the writer and the friendship of the recipient.[1] There is overwhelming evi-

[1] *General Rawlins to General Grant*
Before Vicksburg, Miss., June 6, 1863.
1 o'clock A. M.

DEAR GENERAL :—

The great solicitude I feel for the safety of this army leads me to mention what I hoped never again to do—the subject of your drinking. This may surprise you, for I may be (and I trust I am) doing you an injustice by unfounded suspicions; but if an error, it better be on the side of this country's safety than in fear of offending a friend. I am told that Dr. McMillan, at General Sherman's a few days ago, induced you,

dence that Rawlins's suspicion, as expressed in this letter, was unfounded, but the strength and beauty of the friendship which could stand such a strain is most admirable.

Through June, the investment of Vicksburg was

notwithstanding your pledge to me, to take a glass of wine, and to-day, when I found a box of wine in front of your tent and proposed to move it, which I did, I was told you had forbid it being taken away, for you intended to keep it until you entered Vicksburg, that you might have it for your friends; and to-night, when you should, because of the condition of your health if nothing else, have been in bed, I find you where the wine bottle has just been emptied, in company with those who drink and urge you to do likewise, and the lack of your usual promptness of decision and clearness in expressing yourself in writing tended to confirm my suspicions.

You have full control of your appetite and can let drinking alone. Had you not pledged me the sincerity of your honor early in March that you would drink no more during the war, and kept that pledge during your recent campaign, you would not to-day have stood first in the world's history as a successful military leader. Your only salvation depends upon your strict adherence to that pledge. You cannot succeed in any other way. As I have before stated, I may be wrong in my suspicions, but if one sees that which leads him to suppose a sentinel is falling asleep on his post, it is his duty to arouse him; and if one sees that which leads him to fear the General commanding a great army is being seduced to that step which he knows will bring disgrace upon that General and defeat to his command, if he fails to sound the proper note of warning, the friends, wives and children of those brave men whose lives he permits to remain thus imperiled will accuse him while he lives, and stand swift witnesses of wrath against him in the day when all shall be tried. If my suspicions are unfounded, let my friendship for you and my zeal for my country be my excuse for this letter; and if they are correctly founded, and you determine not to heed the admonitions and the prayers of this hasty note by immediately ceasing to touch a single drop of any kind of liquor, no matter by whom asked, or under what circumstances, let my immediate relief from duty in this department be the result.

I am, General, your friend,

JOHN A. RAWLINS.

complete. The gunboats blocked all supplies from the river and the army closed every channel of communication by land. On June 7th a diversion was attempted from Arkansas, when a division of Confederates attacked Milliken's Bend which was then defended by negro troops, the first to be enlisted in the West. Their gallant and successful defense of this important post did much to popularize the enlistment of negroes and caused a rapid change in sentiment toward the contraband on the part of those who had previously sneered at this policy. Meanwhile, Grant had placed eighty-nine batteries in position with 220 guns, and had developed ten lines of approach to within a few yards of the enemy's works. So close were the soldiers that a curious *camaraderie* developed between the Johnnies and the Yanks, and it is even related that some of the sappers exchanged coffee for tobacco and shared iced ale with their enemy. Grant had planned an assault for July 6th, and there could be little doubt of his success considering the advanced condition of his lines.

As the siege progressed, inside Vicksburg the conviction was growing that surrender was inevitable. The inhabitants had honeycombed the bluff with caves for protection against the shells. Food was scarce, although the city was so well-stored with supplies that famine could have been averted for several weeks. Flour sold at ten dollars a pound and bacon at five dollars, and even mule-meat was in demand, but it was the discouragement of the

soldiers which forced the surrender. On June 28th Pemberton received a petition signed "many soldiers," which stated, "Men don't want to starve and don't intend to, but they call upon you for justice. . . . If you can't feed us, you had better surrender us, horrible as the idea is, than suffer this noble army to disgrace themselves by desertion." With this paper before him, Pemberton called his division commanders in council and asked if the troops were able to cut themselves a way through the enemy's lines. The opinion of the subordinate commanders was almost unanimous against this idea, and after the meeting on July 3d, Pemberton sent a flag of truce to Grant proposing that commissioners be appointed to arrange terms of capitulation. Grant replied, refusing this proposition and stating that the only terms were unconditional surrender, but adding that "Men who have shown so much endurance and courage as those now in Vicksburg will always challenge the respect of an adversary and . . . will be treated with all the respect due prisoners of war." On the afternoon of the same day Grant met Pemberton between the lines, and after a few minutes' conference, Pemberton haughtily refused unconditional surrender and demanded that his men be allowed to march out with their arms and equipment. The conference was a failure, but Grant promised to write out his terms, and later forwarded a letter to Pemberton offering to parole the conquered army. After some further correspondence the terms were accepted. At ten

o'clock on the morning of that Independence Day, which a thousand miles away found Meade's victorious army facing Lee's defeated forces at Gettysburg, Logan's division entered Vicksburg and the ragged regiments of Pemberton, stacking their arms, marched out from the stronghold which they had defended so valiantly.

One episode of the surrender illustrates Grant's habitual magnanimity to a defeated foe. Upon entering Vicksburg, he went with his staff to call on Pemberton. At the headquarters he was received with marked rudeness, and upon his requesting a glass of water, he was directed to the rear of the house, where he could help himself from the well. The next day Dana wired Stanton, "Grant entered the city at eleven o'clock and was received by Pemberton with more marked impertinence than at their former interview. He bore it like a philosopher and in reply treated Pemberton with even greater courtesy and dignity than before." After all, adversity is a sterner test of character than success.

With the taking of Vicksburg there were surrendered about 31,000 men, and 172 pieces of artillery.[1] It was the largest force of armed men ever taken in the history of the war, and was a far stronger army than Grant had anticipated. He had been brought to propose paroling the prisoners by the difficulty of conveying to the North so large a

[1] The total of Union losses from May 1st to July 4th were as follows: Killed, 1,514; wounded, 7,395; missing, 453.

number, and by his belief that most of them were discouraged with fighting, and were perfectly willing again to become peaceful citizens of the Union. Some of those paroled afterward appeared in Bragg's army without having been properly exchanged, and this experience made Grant a strong opponent of any exchanges in the later stages of the war.

While the surrender was taking place, Sherman, on the line of the Big Black, was watching Johnston's cautious advance. As soon as the Federal soldiers were in Vicksburg, Grant ordered several divisions to join Sherman, so as to give the latter 48,000 men. On the afternoon of July 4th, Sherman gave the order to march, and in five days his men were again outside of Jackson. Johnston had retreated with equal celerity, but he made a stand at Jackson, where he had ample forces now to man the fortifications. Sherman made preparations for a siege, but Johnston, who had not sufficient supplies, on July 16th abandoned Jackson for the second time, and fled to the East. Under Grant's orders, Sherman destroyed the railroads around Jackson, and then returned to Vicksburg.

The last Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi was Port Hudson, which was held by General Frank Gardner with 6,000 men. After Grant's successful campaign around Jackson, Johnston ordered Gardner to bring his forces north, but before this order could be obeyed, Banks arrived with about 25,000 men, and started a siege, which had many of the characteristics of that of Vicksburg. When Pem-

berton surrendered, Grant at once sent word to Banks, offering overwhelming reinforcements, but this letter was forwarded to Gardner, who, recognizing the hopelessness of his position, agreed to surrender also. On July 9th the Confederate flag was replaced with that of the Union, and thus was justified Lincoln's picturesque phrase that "the Mississippi flows unvexed to the sea." One week later, the first commercial vessel from St. Louis docked at New Orleans, having traversed the river without the sight or sound of a foe.

Such was the conclusion of the decisive campaign of the West. Halleck wrote to the victorious leader: "In boldness of plan, rapidity of execution, and brilliancy of routes, these operations will compare most favorably with those of Napoleon about Ulm. You and your army have well deserved the gratitude of your country, and it will be the boast of your children that their fathers were the heroic army which reopened the Mississippi River." Lincoln sent Grant a personal letter of congratulation, and at once nominated him as Major-General in the regular army. The outburst of enthusiasm, increased to a tremendous volume by the double victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg, was felt in every Northern community, and Grant was now a national hero.

CHAPTER IX

CHATTANOOGA

To a weaker man, the capture of Vicksburg, after the long toil and burdensome responsibility of the eight months' campaign, would have suggested an opportunity for rest and enjoyment of the fruits of a victory which had electrified the whole nation. Not so with Grant. The white flag had scarcely appeared on the Vicksburg lines before the orders were delivered to Sherman which started him on the second campaign against Jackson. Long before Sherman returned victorious, the next step was clear to his leader, whose plans were forming for an expedition against Mobile, the largest city of Alabama, and the leading seaport of the Gulf coast. If the Army of the Tennessee, with the supreme confidence in its leader born of successive victories, could have been sent against Mobile, it would have been resistless, and thus a sure base could have been secured for operation in the rear of Bragg's army, which was then defending the northern frontier of Alabama.

Instead of this clear-cut and feasible plan, Halleck, under the pressure of political necessity, determined upon the dispersion of Grant's army, following the policy which had been pursued at Corinth with such

signal lack of success. The Ninth Corps was returned to the Army of the Ohio, to be led by Burnside into east Tennessee, for the protection of the loyal Unionists of the mountains, whose relief had long been one of Lincoln's dearly cherished ambitions. Other detachments were sent to the reinforcement of Banks in Louisiana and Schofield in Missouri. The Thirteenth Corps was ordered west of the Mississippi to coöperate in a projected invasion of Texas, where a victory was strongly desired, in order to counterbalance the preliminary success of the French invasion of Mexico. As a result, Grant's army was depleted of its offensive strength, and his men were needed for the numerous garrisons of his department. After Johnston's retreat, however, there was little aggressive strength left in the Confederacy in western Mississippi, and many of those who surrendered at Vicksburg took advantage of the quiet to return to their homes and resume peaceful pursuits. During this period of calm, Grant made a visit to Cairo and Memphis, where he was banqueted by a host of admirers, and then later he went down to New Orleans to confer with Banks on the proposed Western expedition. While attending a review of Banks's army, he met with the most serious personal injury of the war. He had been provided with a spirited steed, which proved too much even for his experience. Taking fright at a steam whistle, the horse dashed into a carriage, and fell, crushing Grant's leg and hip. From the effects of this accident he was kept in bed

for three weeks, and on crutches for two months, and it was in this disabled condition that he entered on his next campaign.

Meanwhile, a crisis had arisen in the Army of the Cumberland, and Grant was summoned to a larger field of action. During the spring of 1863, Rosecrans faced Bragg in southern Tennessee, but there was little aggression on either side. While Grant was besieging Vicksburg, Halleck continually urged Rosecrans to a forward movement, but the difficulty of carrying supplies over the railroad from Nashville, a line often broken by Confederate raiders, kept the Army of the Cumberland quiet. Moreover, Rosecrans was convinced that the proper strategy required him to threaten Bragg without attacking, pointing out that an advance on his part would probably send Bragg's army over to join Johnston, and so force the relief of Vicksburg. But in the closing days of the siege Rosecrans made ready to advance from his quarters at Murfreesboro. Bragg's army was before him in fortified lines at Shelbyville and Tullahoma, protecting Chattanooga, on the south bank of the Tennessee River, which, from its unique location among the mountains, was the key to that region.

On June 24th Rosecrans started his campaign, and so skilfully did he employ his superiority in forces that Bragg's lines were turned without a battle. Continuing his well-planned strategy, Rosecrans crossed the Tennessee west of Chattanooga, and covering his movement in the parallel

mountain ranges south of the river, he brought two of his corps around to the south, so as to threaten Bragg's communications. The Confederate army at once retired from Chattanooga, and on September 9th Crittenden took possession of the much-desired goal. Rosecrans's success led to over-confidence, and he now scattered his men in pursuit of the enemy, anticipating a victory without a battle. But meanwhile the entire Confederacy had its attention centred on a campaign which threatened the disruption of its power. Buckner was ordered down from Knoxville to reinforce Bragg; part of Johnston's army was hurried to him; and taking advantage of the quiet after the Gettysburg campaign, Lee sent Longstreet's strong corps to enable Bragg to overwhelm his foes. For several days Rosecrans's scattered forces were exposed to attack in detail, but presently he began to hear rumors of a movement against him, and hastily ordered his corps to concentrate. Barely had this been accomplished when, on September 20th, Bragg's augmented army burst upon him at Chickamauga Creek.

The two days' battle which followed was one of the deadliest in the history of the war. Rosecrans was in position about fifteen miles south of Chattanooga, with Missionary Ridge at his rear, pierced by certain roads which were essential to a successful retreat. He placed Thomas on his left to cover these roads, and McCook on the right, with Crittenden in the centre. Bragg's army attacked all

along the line, but his plan was to throw back Thomas's corps, so as to cut off communication with Chattanooga. During the first day the Confederates were repulsed, although the loss on both sides was very great, but on the second day, in shifting reinforcements to Thomas, a fatal gap was left in McCook's line, through which Longstreet poured eight brigades in an overwhelming mass, and the right wing crumbled to pieces. Rosecrans, McCook and Crittenden were swept away to Chattanooga in a torrent of fugitives, and the rout seemed complete. Meanwhile, Thomas held his men in position for six hours, in spite of the assault of practically the whole of Bragg's army, earning here the well-deserved title of "the Rock of Chickamauga." When nightfall came, Thomas withdrew and presently the survivors of this costly battle were reunited in Chattanooga.

Chickamauga was a disastrous result of a campaign which had opened so brilliantly, and its effect was to demoralize the Union army. Dana was one of the fugitives, and his telegram to Stanton, sent before he knew of Thomas's steadfast defense, opened: "Chickamauga is as fatal a name in our history as Bull Run." But when the Army of the Cumberland was reassembled in Chattanooga, Bragg's army was the least of the enemies which they needed to fear. Starvation and disorganization were close upon Rosecrans's discouraged troops, and these were foes which no valor could repel. The supplies for the army were brought by rail from Nashville to Bridgeport, where the railroad crosses the Tennessee

River, and thence runs east through the Lookout Valley to Chattanooga. But Bragg took position on Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain, in a vast semicircle around the beleaguered city, and by his commanding situation cut off communications by both the railroad and the river. This left open for Rosecrans but a single wagon-road to Bridgeport, over Waldron's Ridge, a distance of sixty miles, whereby all supplies for his army and the city must be brought. Wheeler's cavalry soon raided this road, and the rainy weather of the autumn made it almost impassable. The soldiers were put on half-rations and more than 10,000 horses and mules perished on the road and in the city from lack of forage, so that the artillery could scarcely be moved.

Inside Chattanooga, the condition was most serious. Rosecrans, always a favorite with his men, seemed stunned by his defeat, and was unable to bring himself to plan the next step. There was general discontent with the commanders who had been in the early retreat from Chickamauga, and the confidence of the private soldiers had been sorely shaken. Once a sentry shouted out to his general to change commanders, or they would be defeated again. Wild stories about the personal conduct of some of the generals, always eagerly circulated after a defeat, became camp gossip, and without necessary supplies and with no confidence for the future, the army was losing its morale.

Meanwhile, prodigious efforts were being made by the Government to relieve the situation. Stanton

suggested a detachment from the Army of the Potomac for reinforcement, and the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps, numbering 20,000 men, were placed under Hooker, and with the fine coöperation of the railroads, moved through Wheeling, Cincinnati, and Nashville to Stevenson, a distance of 1,200 miles, in eight days. Grant was ordered to send all the men he could spare from Memphis, and at once started several divisions under Sherman. But there was considerable doubt as to whether Rosecrans could utilize these forces to advantage, and Dana's messages, always studied with considerable care at Washington, were full of the need of some new administrative force. Finally, in view of the great emergencies, Lincoln decided to consolidate the three armies of the Ohio, Cumberland and Tennessee into the Military Division of the Mississippi, and to place Grant in supreme control.

On October 10th, Grant received a message, dated one week earlier, to report at Cairo without delay. Hastening up the river, he received further orders to proceed to Louisville. While traveling by rail, he reached Indianapolis when a message directed him to join Stanton, who had hurried to the West. This was the first meeting between the great War Secretary and his famous general, and the crisis forced them into intimate relations at once. Stanton had brought with him the orders creating the new military division, and they were delivered to Grant with an alternative, either to retain Rosecrans in command of the Army of the Cumberland,

or to replace him with Thomas. Since their experiences at Corinth, Grant had regarded Rosecrans as of uneven ability, and so he accepted the latter alternative. Proceeding to Louisville, he assumed charge of his new command, and at the same time wired to Chattanooga to hold out at all hazards, to which Thomas replied: "We will hold the town till we starve." At Nashville, on the way south, Grant first met Andrew Johnson, then military governor of Tennessee, so that the three great actors in the Reconstruction controversy,—Grant, Stanton and Johnson, were now in close coöperation for the common cause. Grant was still suffering from his injured hip, and during the hard traveling from Bridgeport to Chattanooga he was carried by his escort over the many dangerous places in the road.

The first and most urgent problem was to secure supplies. Provisions and clothing were both sadly needed, and must be procured before the reinforcements could be brought up. General William F. Smith, whose initiative in operating a sawmill to make supplies for pontoon bridges had attracted Grant's attention, proposed a plan for opening a short line to Bridgeport. Hooker was ordered to cross to the south side of the Tennessee and march eastward to Wauhatchie, on the west slope of Lookout Mountain. At the same time a detachment from Chattanooga came west along the line of the river, and crossed into the rear of Hooker's line of march. Four thousand men were placed directly under General Smith, who sent 1,800, under General Hazen, down the

river in pontoon boats, while Smith with the remainder marched down the north bank of the river to Brown's Ferry, three miles below Lookout Mountain. Hazen landed on the same point, and covered the construction of a pontoon bridge, which was laid in five hours. Meanwhile, Hooker crossed the valley, and capturing some outposts, eventually connected with Smith at Brown's Ferry. The result of these manœuvres was to give Grant a direct line to Bridgeport, easily protected and much shorter than the old wagon-road over Waldron's Ridge. Provisions from Bridgeport could now be brought by boat to Brown's Ferry, thence over one of the numerous bends in the Tennessee by wagon-road about eight miles to Chattanooga, and in great quantities supplies of all kinds poured into the beleaguered city.[1] Longstreet made a vigorous effort to uncover this route, but Hooker's successful defense of Wauhatchie made the new "cracker-line" secure.

With the Army of the Cumberland again ready for offensive work, Grant had a new cause of anxiety in eastern Tennessee. When Rosecrans had opened his campaign in the summer, Burnside had

[1] There has been an extended controversy as to who originated this plan for the relief of Chattanooga. In 1900 a board of officers, consisting of General John R. Brooke, Colonel G. L. Gillespie and Colonel M. V. Sheridan, was appointed by the Secretary of War to ascertain whether the inscription on a monument attributing the plan to General Rosecrans was correct. After thorough investigation, the board reported that the plan was devised by General Rosecrans, and its execution begun by General Thomas before Grant arrived. General Smith protested vigorously against this finding.

made a parallel advance to Knoxville, with the Army of the Ohio. While Bragg's army was facing Thomas at Chattanooga, the former, confident that starvation would soon compel his opponent either to surrender or to retreat, sent Longstreet, with 15,000 men and Wheeler's Cavalry, into east Tennessee. Later, Buckner's division was ordered to join this expedition. Bragg evidently felt his position on Missionary Ridge absolutely secure, and so detached the strongest corps in his army, with the confident belief that Burnside could be overwhelmed, and Longstreet would return, before a battle near Chattanooga would be fought.

Burnside was in a very critical position. While he was in a country with a population thoroughly loyal, yet his line of supplies was the railroad which ran from Nashville to Chattanooga, and then extended to Knoxville. If he were to exhaust his ammunition, or be defeated, his only line of retreat was north through the mountains, where his army could be easily scattered and maybe captured. Grant instantly recognized, however, that he could not send reinforcements to Burnside until he had cleared the railroad for supplies, and so he determined to attack Bragg at Chattanooga, satisfied that a victory here would give relief to his army in east Tennessee. Until Sherman arrived, however, his force was not complete, and never was his patience more needed than during the weeks of waiting, when every message from Lincoln and Stanton urged the need of Knoxville.

Sherman had started from Memphis with four divisions. At first he was ordered to rebuild the railroad from Memphis east, so as to provide a new line of approach to Chattanooga. But as the need became greater, this work was dropped, and Sherman made a forced march, arriving at Bridgeport on November 14th. As soon as his trusted lieutenant was within reach, Grant formed his plans of battle, his determination to fight being urged by the tidings from Burnside.

Chattanooga is the centre of a natural amphitheatre of war, and has been called by many critics the only great field of battle, in which all of the operations can be observed from a central point. The town itself is on the south side of a loop of the river. On the east and south runs Missionary Ridge, from five hundred to eight hundred feet high, back of which is Chickamauga Creek. On the west is Lookout Mountain, twenty-two hundred feet high, extending up to the river in a sharp ascent. Bragg held the north end of Lookout Mountain from the summit to the river, but had the larger part of his army on Missionary Ridge, and the valley of the Chattanooga, between the two mountains. Southeast from the north end of Missionary Ridge was Chickamauga Station, on the railroad to Dalton, where Bragg had his base of supplies.

As soon as Sherman arrived, Grant formed his plan of campaign. While Hooker pressed the enemy's left on Lookout Mountain, and Thomas threatened his main line on Missionary Ridge,

Sherman was to lead his men past Chattanooga, and storm the north end of Missionary Ridge. If successful, this would place him in command of the roads to Chickamauga Station, and so cut off Bragg from his base. It was necessary to wait for several days, however, for Sherman's men, who had been outstripped by their eager commander. In the meantime, two days of rain had ruined the roads, and raised the river to such a height that one of the pontoon bridges was swept away. Moreover, no tidings had been received from Burnside, whose telegraphic communication had been broken by Longstreet's advance, and who was evidently in great need. By November 23d Grant felt that the emergency was so great that he gave the word to advance before Sherman's men were in position.

The first operations of the three days' battle were gallantly performed by the Army of the Cumberland, whose fighting tone was now admirable. Between Chattanooga and the foot of Missionary Ridge, Bragg had a number of outposts centering on Orchard Knob, a slight elevation about one mile south of the city. On the afternoon of November 23d Thomas so quietly moved out his men, with Sheridan's and Wood's divisions in the lead, that the enemy thought it was a dress parade. Then the word was given for a charge, and the steady advance was never slackened until Orchard Knob and all of its outposts were taken, and the Union line moved up to the foot of the Ridge.

Meanwhile, Sherman had led his men behind

Chattanooga, and held them hidden on the north bank of the Tennessee, near the mouth of Chickamauga Creek. Bragg evidently thought that Sherman had marched away to Knoxville; but on the night of November 23d, by aid of a steamer and pontoons, two divisions were landed on the south bank of the river, and by noon of November 24th the bridge was completed, and Sherman's four divisions were ready for the attack. He instantly led his men against Bragg's extreme right wing, on the end of Missionary Ridge, and by nightfall his command had been pushed with such vigor that he had effected a lodgment on the Ridge itself, thereby threatening the road to Chickamauga.

At the same time that Sherman was fighting on the east, Hooker was advancing from Lookout Valley on the west. In his plans Grant had expected to have brought Hooker into Chattanooga, and then to have pushed his men down the line of the creek, so as to separate Bragg's left wing, on Lookout Mountain, from the main body. This would have involved a double crossing of the Tennessee, and in the then torrential condition of the river would have been a hazardous movement, so Hooker was ordered to march around the mountain. Ascending it part way in the rear of the Confederate position, Hooker formed his men in a battle-line up and down the mountain, and sweeping around its north end, he drove the Confederates everywhere before him. It was not a quick operation, for Lookout Mountain is rugged, densely timbered and full of ravines, but

Hooker steadily advanced, and by four o'clock the Confederates fled, losing heavily in prisoners. As the day was hazy, the fighting on the mountain could only be seen from the lowlands by the flash of the firing, and so this victory came to be called "the Battle of the Clouds."

By nightfall Grant's army was in a continuous line, having achieved material gains on both flanks, and was full of confidence for the morrow. Orders were at once prepared to resume the fighting at daybreak. Sherman was to complete his turning movement on the left, Hooker was to cross the Chattanooga Creek and take the Rossville Gap, while Thomas was to menace the centre. On the morning of November 25th Sherman started the fighting at sunrise, and endeavored to push his advantage of the previous day. His assault had disclosed, however, what had not been learned before, that the Ridge was not continuous, but was cut by a road and railroad tunnel, with almost precipitous sides. In spite of the vigor of Sherman's assaults, he could not get past this obstacle, and his progress was blocked. Bragg early recognized the danger from this attack, and hastened heavy reinforcements to his threatened right wing, until Sherman found himself faced with superior numbers. Meanwhile, Hooker's advance had been blocked by a burned bridge, and the rebuilding kept him out of the battle for four hours.

As the afternoon hours came, Grant's plan was only partially accomplished, and from his position

at Orchard Knob he could see Sherman's difficulty, and also the columns of reinforcements marching along the Ridge to meet him. In this emergency, realizing that Bragg was weakening his centre to strengthen his right, he ordered Thomas to advance and attack the Ridge. It is probable that Grant only intended this attack as a diversion to relieve Sherman. The Ridge was wooded and precipitous, with deep gullies, and protected by a line of rifle-pits at the bottom, another half-way up, and by entrenchments and artillery on the summit. Such a position seemed impregnable, and so Bragg thought. But when Thomas's men, again under the lead of Sheridan and Wood, advanced, they took the first row of rifle-pits, and then found themselves exposed to the fire from above. Instantly, without waiting for orders, the men started to run up the Ridge. It was not the word of command which started them: it was rather the eagerness to fight of an army which burned to redeem the disaster of Chickamauga.

The storming of Missionary Ridge is one of the heroic episodes of warfare, and its glory belongs especially to the privates of the North. It was not an easy task which they had accepted. It meant running up a steep hillside, in the face of shot and shell, and then resting in gullies, and reforming, then charging again, until they came so close to the crest that Bragg's artillerists lighted the fuses of shells, and tossed them down on their enemy. But the advance never faltered, and when they finally reached the summit, Bragg's veterans were seized

with sudden panic and fled.[1] It was the reverse of Chickamauga: Bragg and his generals were now swept away in turn, and his headquarters seized by the Union advance. The divisions of Sheridan and Wood first reached the crest of the Ridge, and are entitled to the honors of this signal victory.

A vigorous pursuit was started, with Sheridan in the van, but the approach of night gave Bragg an opportunity to draw off his defeated forces. One division was blocked by Hooker, and many of its men captured, but in the main the Confederates made good their retreat.[2] For two days Grant fol-

[1] Charles A. Dana in "Recollections of the Civil War," p. 150, gives a vivid account of the main attack:

"The storming of the ridge by our troops was one of the greatest miracles in military history. No man who climbs the ascent by any of the roads that wind along its front can believe that eighteen thousand men were moved in tolerably good order up its broken and crumbling face unless it was his fortune to witness the deed. It seemed as awful as a visible interposition of God. Neither Grant nor Thomas intended it. Their orders were to carry the rifle-pits along the base of the ridge and capture their occupants; but when this was accomplished, the unaccountable spirit of the troops bore them bodily up those impracticable steeps, in spite of the bristling rifle-pits on the crest, and the thirty cannons enfilading every gully. The order to storm appears to have been given simultaneously by Generals Sheridan and Wood because the men were not to be held back, dangerous as the attempt appeared to military prudence. Besides, the generals had caught the inspiration of the men, and were ready themselves to undertake impossibilities."

[2] The losses in the Battle of Chattanooga were reported as follows:

	Killed	*Wounded*	*Missing*
Union	753	4,722	349
Confederate	361	2,180	4,146

As Grant took over 6,100 prisoners, these figures are obviously incomplete. In addition, forty guns were taken by the victors.

lowed vigorously, but Burnside's need was uppermost in his mind. When he fought the battle, word had already been received that Burnside could only hold out until December 3d. So Granger's corps was ordered to the relief, and later, as Granger made a slow start, Sherman was placed in command, and his divisions added to the expedition. Under this vigorous leadership, an army of 25,000 men was hurried to east Tennessee, and on December 3d Sherman's cavalry entered Knoxville and gave to Burnside the welcome news of approaching relief. Longstreet had already made an assault, and had failed completely. He did not await Sherman's arrival, but breaking the siege led his men away to the east, in the direction of Virginia where, after wintering in the mountains, he joined Lee in time for the opening battles of the next year.

Sherman found Knoxville well provisioned for a beleaguered city, and dined with Burnside on roast turkey! The loyal inhabitants of the region had developed so many ways of getting food to the garrison that the extreme anxiety about its welfare seems to have been unnecessary. Leaving Granger's divisions with Burnside, who was soon succeeded by General John G. Foster, Sherman retraced his steps to Chattanooga, where his men were ordered again to Mississippi. They had marched four hundred miles to the relief of Chattanooga, taken part in a great battle, and then without any delay they had marched one hundred and twenty miles more to the relief of Knoxville.

The Battle of Chattanooga closed active military operations in the vicinity for the year. It was the only battle of the war in which the four greatest generals of the North,—Grant, Sherman, Sheridan and Thomas, served together. The victory assured Unionist control of Tennessee, and practically pierced the Confederacy, already severed by the Mississippi, on a new line, following the sweep of the mountains. A few days after the battle Bragg, who blamed his defeat on the unnecessary stampede of his men, resigned, and after a slight delay, Joseph E. Johnston was restored to complete command in the West. He spent the winter at Dalton and Atlanta, refitting his army, and gathering recruits, so as to be ready for the decisive operations of the next year. Meanwhile, Grant, after his great victory, had established a sure basis for great popularity with every section of his command. "Our men are frantic with joy and enthusiasm," wrote Dana, "and received General Grant as he rode along the line after the victory with tumultuous shouts." Thomas was placed in command at Chattanooga, and Sherman, now in charge of the Army of the Tennessee, returned to Memphis.[1]

[1] On December 2d Grant wrote to Washburne: "Last week was a stirring time with us, and a magnificent victory was won. .. . . The spectacle was grand beyond anything that has been or is likely to be on this continent. It is the first battle-field I have ever seen where a plan could be followed and from one place the whole field be within one view. At the commencement of the battle, the line was fifteen miles long. Hooker, on our right, soon carried the point of Lookout Mountain, and Sherman the north end of Missionary Ridge, thus

During the winter ambitious plans were forming for the next campaign. Grant's mind was still directed to Mobile or Atlanta as the true objective points, but Halleck for a time had a design of sending Grant with his extra troops to the west of the Mississippi River to join Banks in a campaign in Louisiana and Arkansas. Grant wrote in protest against such a detachment from the main theatre of war, and one of his staff officers indignantly addressed Dana,—"Let's crush the head and heart of the rebellion and the tail can then be ground to dust or allowed to die when the sun goes down." Some military critics also suggested that an army could now be brought into Virginia from east Tennessee, on Lee's flank, and so aid in a campaign against Richmond.

As a preliminary to offensive operations, however, it was necessary that Mississippi should be cleared of organized enemies, so as to reduce the garrisons, and also safeguard the increasing commerce of the river. To this end Sherman, in February, 1864, organized an expedition of twenty thousand men, with which he overran the state without any effective opposition, taking Meridian, where the railroad from Mobile crosses the railroad east from Jackson, and wrecking the means of communication in every direction. Upon his return

shortening the line by five or six miles, and bringing the whole within one view. Our troops behaved most magnificently, and have inflicted on the enemy the heaviest blow they have received during the war."

he received information that a change was about to take place in the nature of the war. The day of disjointed operations and isolated struggles had passed, for Grant was now to be placed in supreme command of all of the armies of the Union.

The true leader had been found, and the great resources of the Union were henceforth to be directed by a master-hand.

CHAPTER X

WITH THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC

"In a military point of view, thank heaven! the 'coming man,' for whom we have so long been waiting, seems really to have come." So wrote the eminent historian, John Lothrop Motley, to his mother, on December 29, 1863, from the distant city of Vienna, where he was representing his country as Minister to Austria. "So far as I can understand the subject, Ulysses Grant is *at least* the equal to any general now living in any part of the world, and by far the first that the war has produced on either side. I expect that when the Vicksburg and Tennessee campaigns come to be written, many years hence, it will appear that they are masterpieces of military art. A correspondent of a widely-circulated German newspaper (the *Augsburg Gazette*), very far from friendly to America, writing from the seat of war in Tennessee, speaks of the battle of Chattanooga as an action which, both for scientific combination and bravery in execution, is equal to any battle of modern times from the days of Frederick the Great downward."[1]

While this point of view was slowly developing in Europe, it had already become a settled conviction

[1] "The Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley," Vol. II, p. 146.

in the North. During the earlier campaigns of the war, Lincoln, as the constitutional Commander-in-Chief of the Army, had been compelled to devote a large portion of his time to questions of strategy and warfare. With his strong common sense and clear judgment, although without any previous military training, he developed in time into an excellent critic of matters relating to the army, but his correspondence shows how he distrusted his own opinion in this new field, and how eagerly he sought for some one with the requisite capacity to assume this task. The first three years of the war might almost be termed the period of search for a general. Sometimes a leader was found who could succeed in the preliminary work of organization, and then later an inability to use his forces would be discovered. Sometimes there was circumstantial evidence that officers in high places, while thoroughly loyal to the Union, were nevertheless half-hearted in their desire to crush the South, or else lukewarm in support of the administration's policy toward the negro.

As an illustration of Lincoln's difficulties, the case of Major John J. Key, whose brother was on McClellan's staff, may be cited. After the battle of Antietam, an officer asked Major Key why an advance had not been ordered, and the rebel army "bagged," to which he replied: "That is not the game; the object is that neither army shall get much advantage of the other; that both shall be kept in the field till they are exhausted, when we will make a compromise and save slavery." After

a hearing before the President, Key was dismissed from the military service, Lincoln's order containing this comment: "In my view it is wholly inadmissible for any gentleman holding a military commission from the United States to utter such sentiments as Major Key is herein proved to have done."

The combination of inexperience, incapacity and half-heartedness in some subordinates had forced Lincoln to give orders to generals in the field, but nothing better demonstrates his genuine desire to avoid meddling than his attitude toward the generals who did succeed. From the beginning of Grant's career he had not been hampered or bothered in any way by directions from the President. After the surrender of Vicksburg, Lincoln wrote him his first letter, in congratulation on the results of his generalship. During the Chattanooga campaign he received many messages that showed Lincoln's anxiety about Burnside, but absolutely nothing which altered his plans or changed his dispositions. The results which Grant had accomplished, and the patriotic efficiency of the man as portrayed in Dana's confidential letters to his chief, now strongly contributed to suggest that the time had come to give over the military work to an expert.

Nor was Congress slow to respond to the national need. Early in the winter Senator Howe had offered a resolution authorizing the President to enlist a million volunteers, and to place Grant in command, with power to appoint subordinates. The more practicable plan was suggested by Wash-

burne, who, after the battle of Chattanooga, had introduced a bill to revive the grade of Lieutenant-General in the army, and to authorize the President to appoint to this position some officer, not below the grade of major-general, with power, under the direction of the President, to command all of the armies of the United States. This title had been conferred upon Washington in the last years of his life, and by brevet, upon Scott. Its revival met with some opposition, chiefly from those who feared that a military despotism might result from the war, but the bill passed the House and Senate and on February 29th was signed by the President. During the Congressional debates, Grant's name was frequently mentioned as the probable appointee, and his achievements and shortcomings were freely discussed. Washburne, in reviewing his record, declared that, "Every promotion he has received since he first entered the service to put down this rebellion was moved without his knowledge or consent."

During this flattering discussion there was much natural curiosity about Grant's politics. In the early months of 1864 some opposition to Lincoln had developed, and attempts were being made to centre its strength on a candidate who could be elected. Military reputation has always appealed to politicians in the United States, and attempts were now made in several quarters to sound Grant and to draw forth his views. While originally a Democrat, there can be no question but that by this time he had identified the restoration of the Union with the

continued success of the Republican party, and it was not until after a residence in Washington that civil ambitions began to develop. "I am not a candidate for any office," he wrote to his father from Nashville on February 20, 1864. "All I want is to be left alone to fight this war out. . . . I know that I feel that nothing personal to myself could ever induce me to accept a political office." A month earlier he had written Isaac W. Morris, son of the Senator who had helped his application to West Point: "In your letter you say that I have it in my power to be the next President. This is the last thing in the world I desire. I would regard such a consummation as highly unfortunate for myself, if not for the country." One of his letters, in which this point of view was expressed, was shown to Lincoln, and satisfied him that here was no political general, who would allow his plans to be determined by considerations of vote-getting.

So well content was Lincoln with his inquiry that the same day upon which Washburne's bill was signed witnessed his nomination of Grant as Lieutenant-General of the armies of the United States. Grant was then at Nashville, engrossed with his preparations for the next Western campaign. On March 3d he received orders to report at Washington, and the next day he started east, first sending a letter to Sherman, which expresses a friendship as real and unselfish as anything which has come down from the days of chivalry.[1]

[1] See Appendix A, p. 352.

Without delay Grant proceeded to Washington, where he had not been since his boyhood days. His reception was instant proof of his place in the minds of his countrymen. Stopping at the Willard Hotel, he was quickly recognized and toasted by a large group of enthusiastic diners. Later, on the evening of March 8th, he went to the White House where he was presented to Lincoln, and lionized by a throng of curious visitors, whose rush was so eager that Seward pulled him upon a sofa to bow his acknowledgments. The next day, in the presence of the Cabinet, Lincoln delivered the commission as Lieutenant-General, speaking as follows: "General Grant, the nation's appreciation of what you have done, and its reliance upon you for what remains to do in the existing great struggle, are now presented, with this commission constituting you Lieutenant-General in the Army of the United States. With this high honor devolves upon you, also, a corresponding responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need to add that with what I here speak for the nation goes my own hearty personal concurrence."

To this formal but kindly greeting, Grant responded as follows, reading from a half sheet of note-paper, on which he had written in lead pencil: "Mr. President, I accept this commission with gratitude for the high honor conferred. With the aid of the noble armies that have fought on so many fields for our common country, it will be my earnest

endeavor not to disappoint your expectations. I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now devolving on me; and I know that if they are met, it will be due to those armies, and above all to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men."

During the reception, Lincoln had told Grant of the nature of the exercises on the morrow, and had suggested to him to say in reply something which would prevent jealousy on the part of other generals, and also something which would put him on good terms with the Army of the Potomac. It will be noticed that in Grant's response this request was quietly ignored. He had approached Washington with the soldier's dread of politics and politicians, so frequently voiced by Sherman in his letters, and he evidently felt that, on his first public utterance as Lieutenant-General, he should say only those things which were based on his own experience.

It is interesting to note the impression which Grant made upon the leaders of the East in this visit to the capital, at a time when his unequaled record in the West made his personality of paramount interest. John Sherman wrote to his brother, —"His will and common sense are the strongest features of his character. He is plain and modest, and so far bears himself well." Richard H. Dana was staying at Willard's Hotel when Grant arrived, and described him as "a short, round-shouldered man, in a very tarnished major-general's uniform. . . . He had no gait, no station, no manner, rough, light-brown whiskers, a blue eye

and rather a scrubby look withal." But even the cultured man of letters noticed that he had "a look of resolution, as if he could not be trifled with, and an entire indifference to the crowd about him." Perhaps the most interesting of contemporary accounts is that of Meade, who was still in command of the Army of the Potomac, and who evidently expected that the advent of this new commander from the West would deprive him of the command which he had fairly earned at Gettysburg. In December, 1863, after the victory at Chattanooga, Meade wrote: "You ask me about Grant. It is difficult for me to reply. I knew him as a young man in the Mexican War, at which time he was considered a clever young officer, but nothing extraordinary. He was compelled to resign some years before the present war, owing to his irregular habits. I think his great characteristic is indomitable energy and great tenacity of purpose. He certainly has been very successful, and that is nowadays the measure of reputation. The enemy, however, have never had in any of their Western armies the generals or the troops they have had in Virginia, nor has the country been so favorable for them there as here. Grant has undoubtedly shown very superior abilities and is, I think, justly entitled to all the honors they propose to bestow upon him." [1] But in March, 1864, after Grant had been appointed Lieutenant-General, and had visited the

[1] "Life and Letters of General George Gordon Meade," Vol. II, pp. 162–163.

Army of the Potomac, and conferred with Meade, the latter wrote,—"I was very much pleased with General Grant. In the views he expressed to me he showed much more capacity and character than I had expected." One of the close observers of the war time, whose voluminous diary contains many trenchant comments on men and officers, was the Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, and he wrote: "There was in his deportment little of the dignity and bearing of the soldier but more of an air of business than his first appearance indicated, but he showed latent power."

Morris Schaff, who had but recently graduated from West Point, thus describes the new general, with the eyes of youth: "When he came to the Army of the Potomac—I remember the day well—I never was more surprised in my life. I had expected to see quite another type of man: one of the chieftain-type, surveying the world with dominant, inveterate eyes and a certain detached military loftiness. But behold, what did I see? A medium-sized, mild, unobtrusive, inconspicuously dressed, modest and naturally silent man. He had a low, gently vibrant voice and steady, thoughtful, softly blue eyes. Not a hint of self-consciousness, impatience, of restlessness, either of mind or body; on the contrary, the centre of a pervasive quiet which seemed to be conveyed to every one around him—even the orderlies all through the campaign were obviously at their ease." [1]

[1] Schaff, "The Battle of the Wilderness," p. 47.

From his appointment, Lincoln trusted Grant implicitly, and the latter loyally responded to the trust. Their correspondence is expressive of a mutual confidence, wholly different from the carping, critical attitude of the dispatches of McClellan or Rosecrans. Lincoln did not seek to penetrate his general's plans, nor did he try to change them as they were announced, and throughout the long hard year of struggle which was now opening, never withdrew his confidence from his general. There is a well-substantiated story that once Stanton objected to Grant's plan of campaign, as leaving Washington exposed to attack with an insufficient garrison, a fear afterward justified by Early's campaign. Upon complaining to Lincoln, the President said, "Now, Mr. Secretary, you know we have been trying to manage this army for nearly three years, and you know we haven't done much with it. We sent over the mountains, and brought Mr. Grant, as Mrs. Grant calls him, to manage it for us, and now I guess we had better let Mr. Grant have his own way."

When the "show business" at Washington was concluded, Grant, styling these social experiences "his warmest campaign during the war," returned to Tennessee for a conference with his Western lieutenants. The plan of campaign for the spring was already fully matured and its chief requirement was coördinate action by all the armies of the North. In the opening paragraphs of his final report to the Secretary of War, he clearly stated the strategic

weakness of the earlier campaigns. "The armies in the East and West acted independently and without concert, like a balky team, no two ever pulling together, enabling the enemy to use to greater advantage his interior lines of communication for transporting troops from East to West, reinforcing the armies most vigorously pressed, and to furlough large numbers, during seasons of inactivity on our part, to go to their homes and do the work of producing for the support of their armies." His problem was to break the military power of the rebellion and the methods which he determined to employ were, first, to use the greatest number of troops practicable against the armed force of the enemy, and, second, to hammer continuously until, by mere attrition, if in no other way, rebellion should be overthrown. It needed no peculiar genius to perfect a plan based fundamentally on common sense, but it did require steadfastness of purpose and administrative ability of the highest order to insure the harmonious coöperation of generals and armies in nineteen separate departments over an area continental in its extent.

The specific details of the campaign were soon arranged. Sherman, who had succeeded Grant in command of the military division of the Mississippi, was to lead the armies of the Cumberland, Tennessee and Ohio against Johnston, who was protecting Atlanta. The Army of the Potomac, which had been reorganized by Meade into three corps, the Second, Fifth and Sixth, commanded respectively

by Hancock, Warren and Sedgwick, was to attack Lee's Army of Northern Virginia,—the main defense of the capital of the Confederacy. Butler, with the Army of the James, was to threaten Richmond from the southeast. Some minor operations were also undertaken, such as the unfortunate Red River expedition under Banks, the orders for which had been issued prior to Grant's assumption of the command; but wherever possible, a consolidation was effected, so as to bring the greatest possible force to bear upon the important objective points. In this way large reinforcements were gathered for Butler's army and another corps, the Ninth, under Burnside, for Meade's army. Sheridan was ordered east and placed in charge of the cavalry of the Army of the Potomac.

Against the advice of his Western friends, Grant decided to assume personal charge of the operations against Lee, not only because of their primary importance, but also in recognition of the fact that Washington was the storm-centre of the political influences which had continually interfered with the success of the army in the East. It was less than six months from this time that Lincoln, writing in approval of one of Grant's suggestions, said, "I repeat to you, it will neither be done nor attempted, unless *you* watch it every day and hour, and force it." When Grant had assumed command, Meade, with the chivalry of his high-bred nature, at once offered to resign the command of the Army of the Potomac, so as to leave the way open for Sherman

or some Western general, but Grant declined this proposition in the most complimentary terms, and henceforth established his headquarters near to that of Meade, giving his orders, whenever possible, through the latter and constantly endeavoring with fine consideration to avoid wounding the feelings of the subordinate under whom the Army of the Potomac had won its greatest victory. This double-headed arrangement for the command of the army has been severely criticized as leading to confusion and lack of direction and responsibility, but there can be no doubt that it was highly advantageous to the General to have at his right hand one who through intimate association had become acquainted with the fighting power and capacity for leadership of his subordinates and their troops.

Two months were spent in accumulating supplies and other necessary preparations and the first week of May was appointed for the general advance. On schedule time, as the parts of one vast machine, Sherman advanced against Dalton, Butler moved up the River James and the Army of the Potomac commenced its death-grapple with its redoubtable opponent. During the spring Meade's army, which, including Burnside, numbered 120,000, was encamped north of the Rapidan and west of Fredericksburg. The Confederates, less than 70,000 in all, were still in winter quarters south of the Rapidan in three corps commanded by Ewell, A. P. Hill and Longstreet. Between these two forces, which from discipline and training were probably the finest

fighting organizations ever seen in the republic, was the dark and bloody ground of the Virginia wilderness, a district of twenty-five miles of dense forest, "scrubby, stubborn oaks and low-limbed, disordered, haggard pines," a stunted growth of trees intermingled with thick underbrush already hallowed by the sad memories of Chancellorsville.

In determining upon a line of advance three plans were considered: first, to transport the army by the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries to the peninsula, and thence to approach Richmond from the southeast. This had been McClellan's plan, and as in his day it was open to the objection that it uncovered Washington to a frontal attack. Moreover, it meant that the fighting would take place when Lee was protected by the entrenchments around Richmond, and as Grant had early realized that the Confederate Army, rather than the capital, was his real objective point, this plan was rejected. Secondly, he could advance by the right flank and, by turning Lee's position, approach Richmond from the northwest; but this involved a departure from the rivers which furnished a convenient mode of supply and would hence result in a long and hazardous line of communications. There remained the approach by Lee's left flank, and it was Grant's expectation that the first marches could be made so speedily as to place his army in the clear ground beyond the Wilderness, before Lee could intervene.

Never is attention to detail more needed than when a commander is face to face with the enemy.

The first orders, copies of which were sent to all corps commanders, so that each might be advised not only what was expected of himself but of the others, are given in full as an illustration of the exactitude of the plan.[1] Early in the morning of May 4th, the army commenced its march and before night all except Burnside were across the Rapidan together with a large part of the trains numbering over 4,000 wagons. It is possible that a rapid march might have taken the army through the Wilderness without a battle, but this would have involved a danger to the trains and a possible separation from Burnside. Meanwhile Lee, whose customary vigilance had been much increased by the expectation of an offensive movement, had determined to force the fighting in the Wilderness, where the nature of the ground would minimize the numerical advantage of the enemy, both in men and artillery. On May 5th Sedgwick was on the right, Warren in the centre, and Hancock some miles in advance at Chancellorsville, while Burnside was in the rear crossing the Rapidan, when Ewell advanced against Sedgwick and Hill against Warren, and the battle commenced.

When the presence of the foe was ascertained Hancock was ordered back from Chancellorsville so as to connect with Warren. During the whole of this day the battle raged furiously with lines so close that there was a succession of hand-to-hand combats and continuous and deadly musketry. The difficulties of the ground and the succession of forest,

[1] See Appendix B, page 356.

underbrush and swamp prevented many of the officers from seeing more than a small proportion of their commands and blocked absolutely a bird's-eye view of the battle. By night both sides were exhausted, but neither had yielded and when darkness came the combatants rested on the battle-line, both sides expecting reinforcements on the morrow.

At five o'clock on the morning of May 6th the fighting was resumed and Hancock, who was now expecting Burnside, took the offensive on the Orange Plank road. For some time his advance was successful but was eventually blocked by Longstreet's heavy corps. During most of this day the Union left was severely handicapped by the expectation of a flank attack similar to that which Jackson had tried so successfully against Hooker in the previous year. Eventually Longstreet formed four brigades in line and leading this strong column along a parallel road against the flank of Hancock's position, for a time swept everything before him. But in the early afternoon, when success seemed within reach, by the supreme action of chance Longstreet was wounded by his own men, and it was some hours before the Confederates could push their advantage with vigor. When the final attack was made the enemy was completely repulsed and Hancock thus held about the same line as in the morning.

While the left was thus bearing the brunt of the battle with attack and counter-attack, on the centre and right, Warren and Sedgwick were passing through a similar experience and the final fighting

of the day came on the extreme right when Gordon and Johnston made a sudden attack at sunset upon Shaler's brigade, turning its position and taking several hundred prisoners, thus compelling Sedgwick to reform his line.

Two days of the hardest fighting of the war had proved the mettle of both armies. Almost 30,000 men were killed, wounded or missing and the necessities of the suffering were very great. In the afternoon of the second day, fires in the underbrush had burnt the bodies of many of the dead and probably brought death to many of the helpless wounded. Both sides were exhausted but dauntless. In its results the battle cannot be counted as a decisive victory for either. Lee could not claim a victory for now that Grant's entire army was well-placed in a continuous line of battle protected by temporary entrenchments, he withdrew a mile distant and fortified his position. Nor could Grant claim a victory, for he had suffered far greater loss than he had inflicted, nor had he destroyed the fighting power of the enemy. The third day opened, therefore, with a series of skirmishes which disclosed the enemy's position, and then the day was spent in welcome rest and ministrations of mercy.

The previous experience of the Army of the Potomac had suggested that after a great battle there should be a season of recuperation, and this tradition had inspired Grant's criticism that the army had never been fought to a finish. With this thought in mind, therefore, he determined upon an

advance by the left flank around Lee's army, and during the night of May 7th the Army of the Potomac, led by Warren, moved out of the Wilderness toward Spottsylvania Court House. When the order to march was given the soldiers could not tell at first whether it was a retreat or an advance, but as the direction inclined to the southeast it was evident that no backward movement was intended, and the cry of "On to Richmond" was passed through the lines with electric effect. From this moment dated Grant's popularity with his new army, which had accepted him with some doubt as to how he would fare when face to face with this hitherto invincible opponent.

South of the Rapidan, eastern Virginia is cut by a multitude of small streams which, eventually uniting into larger rivers, empty into the Chesapeake. The northernmost are the Mat, Ta, Po and Ny Rivers, whose union forms the Mattapony; then come the North and South Anna, which form the Pamunkey; then the Chickahominy, which is the main tributary of the James, on the north side, as the Appomattox is on the south. The Mattapony and the Pamunkey eventually unite in the York River, and the district between the York and the James is known as the Peninsula, and was the scene of McClellan's campaign. Spottsylvania is a county-seat between the Po and the Ny Rivers, and the existence of these small streams added immeasurably to the difficulties of offensive warfare.

On May 8th the army marched toward Spottsyl-

vania and came near to taking the strong works at that place without a battle. When Lee had been advised of the movement of Grant's trains, he at once ordered Longstreet's corps, now under the command of R. H. Anderson, to march to Spottsylvania, thinking that Grant was making for Fredericksburg in order to retreat. Finding the woods on fire, Anderson pushed on to the Court House without resting *en route*, and as a result when the Fifth Corps reached Spottsylvania, it found the Confederates already in possession. The next day was spent in bringing both armies into position at the Court House, where Lee was protected by elaborate lines of entrenchments which took advantage of every elevation of ground and formed a V-shaped fortress almost impregnable to ordinary assault, his rear being covered by the Po. Meanwhile Sheridan, after a sharp tiff with Meade over his effectiveness in the Wilderness, had cut loose from the army on the first of his independent expeditions; passing Lee's right flank he destroyed ten miles of railroad and large quantities of supplies and eventually penetrated to within six miles of Richmond, where at Yellow Tavern he was overtaken by "Jeb" Stuart with Lee's entire cavalry force. In the battle which followed Stuart was killed and the Confederate horse overwhelmed and scattered, Sheridan even penetrating the outer line of the fortifications of Richmond. Stopping for a few days with Butler, he rejoined Grant on May 24th, after the most successful cavalry raid of the war.

While Sheridan was gathering laurels with his new command, ten days of sanguinary fighting had taken place at Spottsylvania. On May 9th and 10th there was entrenchment, observation and fighting all along the line in the course of which General Sedgwick was killed, being succeeded in the command of the Sixth Corps by General H. G. Wright. At one time Hancock on the extreme right gained a position south of the Po which threatened to turn Lee's flank, but it was so isolated that he was soon withdrawn. On May 10th there were five assaults all along the line and one party, led by Upton, even penetrated the apex of Lee's position, but lack of support compelled its withdrawal, Upton winning a well-deserved promotion conferred by Grant himself on the field of battle. The next day Hancock was moved to the centre and ordered to prepare for a daybreak assault on the Confederate centre—the famous Bloody Angle.

In the midst of this interminable fighting with its ceaseless demands upon the commanding general for orders, supplies and organization, Grant found time to send two famous dispatches to the North which gave proof of the quality of the man and the determination of his purpose. Writing to Halleck on the morning of May 10th, reporting his position, he said, "I shall take no backward steps." The next day in farewell to his old friend, Washburne, who had been at his headquarters since the beginning of the campaign, he gave him another dispatch for Halleck, written in his own hand on the field of

battle, in which occurred the laconic expression, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."

Hancock never displayed his leadership to greater advantage than on the morning of May 12th, when, in a drenching rain, he concentrated his troops on both sides of the Angle, and, charging shortly after half-past four in the darkness of the early morning, led his men over the entrenchments and in a short hand-to-hand grapple, took prisoners practically all of Johnson's division of Ewell's corps, including 4,000 men, thirty pieces of artillery and two general officers. Having pierced the centre of Lee's position, Hancock charged over a mile until he found himself confronted by a strong line of works running across the base of the Angle to which Lee hurried with reinforcements gathered at every hand. Here throughout the entire day the fighting continued. Lee failed in every effort to retake the Angle and Hancock, even though aided by Wright, could not penetrate the new line of defense. At one time Hancock was practically driven out of the Angle, but his men reformed on the reverse side of the entrenchments and soon compelled the enemy to withdraw, so that at nightfall the positions were the same as after Hancock's assault. It was the hardest and closest fighting of the war, and the cruelest test of American manhood.

In spite of Hancock's success, Grant had failed in his main purpose to break through Lee's centre, so as to roll up his flanks, and destroy the fighting

morale of the army. During the next week the two armies were face to face at Spottsylvania although at times the heavy rain interfered with operations. At one time Grant moved two corps to the left, thinking thereby to cause such a concentration of his forces as would weaken the centre, and then the Second Corps was hastily brought back to the Angle in the hope that it might repeat its success of the previous week; but Lee was on the alert and this plan was defeated. Again, each army had fought the other to a standstill and a new plan was inevitable.

Once more Grant determined to move by the left flank and hoping to decoy Lee from his entrenchments to the open field he ordered Hancock to march first with a gap of twenty miles between the Second Corps and the remainder of the army. In spite of this tempting bait, Lee proved the character of his generalship by declining to do what his adversary desired. A two days' march brought the army to the banks of the North Anna where they found the Confederate Army strongly posted on the south side of the river in two parallel lines of entrenchments with flanks perfectly protected by swamp, thicket and stream. Hancock and Warren were successful in effecting a crossing of the river, but then found themselves separated by Lee's army and blocked by entrenchments too strong to assault. It was a dangerous position for the Army of the Potomac. Lee could have concentrated for an attack upon either flank which, in order to unite with the other, would have been obliged to cross the river twice in the face

of the foe. Even Grant hesitated to order an assault upon an impregnable position under these conditions, and finally decided to resume the flanking movement,—what the soldiers had learned to call "sidling" toward Richmond. In a dispatch to the War Department at this time Grant's confidence in the outcome is fully shown. "Lee's army is really whipped, the prisoners we now take show it, and the action of his army shows it unmistakably. A battle with them outside of entrenchments cannot be had."

Withdrawing his army from its dangerous position, he marched along the north bank of the river to the Pamunkey, where after a hurried crossing he again found himself faced by the Army of Northern Virginia.

While Grant was battling with Lee in a vain endeavor to force a decisive battle outside of Richmond, Butler had moved up the James River from Fortress Monroe in a flank attack on the capital of the Confederacy. He had seized and fortified City Point at the mouth of the Appomattox and had reached Bermuda Hundred, where he fortified himself. Beauregard was in command of the Confederate forces south of Richmond and at the beginning of Butler's expedition he had but 6,000 men with which to oppose over 30,000. A vigorous offensive movement could certainly have taken Petersburg and probably Richmond, but Butler moved so leisurely that Beauregard had ample opportunity to bring up from the South heavy reinforcements with

which to block the movement. A battle was fought near Drewry's Bluff on May 16th, after which Butler withdrew to his fortifications at Bermuda Hundred where safe in a peninsula he was "bottled up" by a much inferior force.

Realizing the ineffectiveness of this campaign, Grant ordered the Eighteenth Corps under General W. F. Smith to cross the James and to join Meade at Cold Harbor, where on June 1st the Army of the Potomac had concentrated. Here Lee had prepared elaborate lines of fortifications about six miles in extent from the Chickahominy on the right to a series of swamps on the left. Grant determined upon a frontal assault, and of all his military operations, this determination has been most severely and justly criticized. His reasoning is easy to understand: Lee was now within reach of the fortifications of Richmond which was but a few miles away. If his lines could have been broken at this point, a decisive victory would probably have ended the war. On the other hand, a frontal assault upon fortified lines, well-manned with artillery so that almost every section was covered by cross-fires, and protected by a devoted army under an invincible chief, could only result in failure. The soldiers realized the desperation of the situation and nothing in the history of warfare is more tragic than the story of how these devoted men spent the night before the battle in writing their names and addresses on slips of paper which were then sewed into their blouses. The battle was fought without any systematic plan

and almost without any reconnaissance of the enemy's lines. For six hours on the morning of June 3d the various corps commanders endeavored to reach the lines before them but with very little success, and when the day's fighting was over the Army of the Potomac had lost almost 10,000 men and had inflicted a loss of about one-tenth of that number. In his "Memoirs," Grant frankly admitted his mistake,—"I have always regretted that the last assault at Cold Harbor was ever made."

It was full time to consider a change of plan. One month of constant hammering had cost the Army of the Potomac about 50,000 men, and while there had been heavy reinforcements, yet there can be no question but that the vigor of the army was seriously impaired. Those who had perished were veterans, while the newcomers were in some cases raw and untrained, and unable to accommodate themselves to the physical hardships of a soldier's life. Moreover there had been a heavy mortality among officers and the men were no longer led with the dash and vigor of the earlier days of the campaign. The army needed rest, and, realizing its condition, Grant determined to march south of the James without another battle.

While the two armies were facing each other at Cold Harbor, Hunter had led a strong column down the Shenandoah Valley and, after some minor successes, threatened Lynchburg, an important depot of supplies in western Virginia. To meet

this unexpected invasion, Lee sent Breckinridge and Early to regain control of the Valley. Hunter, having exhausted his ammunition, retreated to West Virginia, thus leaving the way open for a Valley campaign. Meanwhile Grant had moved his army across the Chickahominy to the James, where in eight hours his engineers constructed a bridge of 101 pontoons over a river 2,100 feet wide.

There can be no question but that Lee was completely outgeneraled by this last flanking movement, and indeed for three days he lost his foe. Expecting an advance on Richmond, south of the Chickahominy, Lee held his army north of the James. But Grant had crossed both rivers and had directed Smith to make a sudden attack upon Petersburg, the important railroad centre to the south of Richmond, which was then held by but 2,500 Confederates. On June 15th Smith made his attack and gained some success. In the evening Hancock, who had been not properly advised as to the urgency of the operation, brought up the Second Corps. It was fortunate for the Confederacy that Beauregard recognized the emergency, even if Lee did not. During the night of June 15th he stripped Richmond of its soldiers and with Hoke's division from the Army of Northern Virginia assembled 14,000 men for the defense of Petersburg. On June 16th, 17th and 18th, there was a series of vicious assaults, but again the entrenchments were a safe bulwark to the Confederates. By this time Lee,

realizing that his enemy had passed south of the James, brought his own army south of Richmond and the Army of the Potomac was again face to face with its old foe, and once more all advantages of position were with the latter. Grant now abandoned the policy of frontal attacks and instead prepared lines of entrenchments for a regular siege.

There can be little question but that the results of the campaign thus far achieved were as disappointing to Grant as to the North. By his record as well as the gigantic preparations for the spring campaign, public opinion had been led to expect that there would soon be a sweeping and decisive victory which would end the struggle. Instead of the fulfilment of this expectation, there had been many indecisive conflicts and much slaughter, and in the end Lee seemed as unconquerable as ever, and had only been forced to the position where McClellan had found him two years before. "The immense slaughter of our brave men chills and sickens us all," wrote Gideon Welles in his diary, the day before the battle of Cold Harbor. "The hospitals are crowded with the thousands of mutilated and dying heroes who have poured out their blood for the Union cause." Two months later the Secretary confessed to an awakening apprehension that Grant is not equal to his task. "God grant that I may be mistaken, for the slaughtered thousands of my countrymen who have poured out their rich blood for three months on the soil of Virginia from the

Wilderness to Petersburg under his generalship can never be atoned in this world or the next if he without Sherman prove a failure."

This increasing wave of criticism was based upon the conviction that Grant did not know how to manœuvre and that his strategy was confined to the use of brute force. To the unthinking, there was abundant reason for this attitude in the succession of frontal assaults upon entrenchments, but the intelligent student of military history will find in these seven weeks of continuous fighting ample evidence of a strategy which came many times near to complete success. This campaign might almost be characterized as a series of unfulfilled possibilities. Thus at the Wilderness, if Burnside had arrived at the dawn of the second day, who can doubt but that Hancock's attack would have overwhelmed Hill before Longstreet had arrived. Again, at Spottsylvania, with proper information of the nature of the ground, Hancock's position south of the Po might have developed into a grand flanking movement which would have forced Lee into the open. Even at Cold Harbor, where Grant's strategy was much criticized by his subordinates, it is authoritatively stated that Lee had not a single regiment in reserve, and if his lines had been pierced he probably would have been disastrously routed. It was to the Army of the James, however, that the greatest opportunities were presented and wasted; in May, Butler had the advantage of a complete surprise and for two days Richmond was practically in his grasp.

Again in June, by all the canons of warfare, Petersburg should have been taken without the delay and slaughter of a nine months' siege.

These continued breakdowns of well-conceived plans suggest that Grant was not receiving the proper support from his subordinates, and there is strong reason to believe that the Army of the Potomac, in spite of the fine patriotism and courage of the rank and file, had not yet learned how to pull together. Many of the generals were in close touch with leading Senators and Representatives and the previous traditions of their service had bred feelings of jealousy where there should have been coöperation and friendship. When in the middle of this campaign, General James H. Wilson arrived at headquarters from the West, he frankly told Grant that in his judgment it would be a good thing if Parker, the Indian aide, could scalp a dozen major-generals.[1] After Cold Harbor, Wilson narrates how Upton, one of the most brilliant fighters of the army, said to him: "I am sorry to say I have seen but little generalship during the campaign. Some of the corps commanders are not fit to be corporals. Lazy and indifferent, they will not even ride along their lines; yet, without hesitancy, they will order us to attack the enemy, no matter what their position and numbers." This comment aids in the understanding of Grant's dependence upon Hancock and Sheridan for offensive operations. In his pre-

[1] See "Under the Old Flag," by James Harrison Wilson, Vol. I, p. 400.

vious experiences in the West, he had always trusted details to his subordinates, sketching the general orders and then relying upon his commanders,—and these two now proved themselves most capable in independent command.

Again there was notorious ill-feeling among many of the generals. Meade, whose temper was never of the easiest, was so exhausted by the responsibilities of his position that he was on ill terms with almost every one except Grant, and at times his irritability lest Sheridan should gain a promotion over himself brought an unusual strain even into the headquarters. Butler had quarreled with both of his corps commanders, whom he blamed for the failure of his operations. The summer of 1864 was the gloomiest period in the history of the war for the Union. The successive discouragements affected the money-market and when the price of gold, in July, touched 285, it evidenced the sensitiveness of the financial barometer. Lincoln had been renominated for the Presidency, but there was disaffection in his Cabinet and a strong feeling even among his supporters that he could not be reëlected; Sherman had not yet succeeded in his Atlanta campaign; foreign complications, especially in Mexico, had culminated in the French invasion, and there was an increasing conviction that with all these dangers the great republic was on the verge of disintegration.

Amid all these problems, Grant steadfastly pursued the course he had marked out for himself. With

few complaints and with a complete absence of the bitterness that characterized McClellan's dealings with the government, concealing his disappointment at the failure of his plans he pursued his one chief object,—the destruction of the military power of the Confederacy. Rhodes concludes that at this time his misfortunes drove him again to excessive drink and there is at least much army gossip which points in that direction. General Smith, whose ability fitted him for high command but whose quarrelsome disposition proved his incapacity to pull in harness, has charged that Butler supplied Grant with drink and thereby obtained a secret hold which was used to secure his retention in command of the Army of the James. It is certain that Grant issued orders relieving Butler and giving his post to Smith, and that afterward, upon Butler's insistent demand, the order was revoked and Smith sent to the rear. The evidence at hand, however, points to an entirely different reason for this revocation. The immediate necessity was for the reëlection of Lincoln which was far more important than even military success, and it is evident that if Butler, an aggressive leader of the War Democracy, had been sent home in disgrace, it would have added tremendously to the political difficulties of the administration. A mere hint from Lincoln, to whom Grant was now most loyally attached, would account for a reversal of the order far better than a "secret hold," and this theory is further substantiated by the fact that six months later, after the election, when the

necessity for caution no longer existed, Butler was removed from command.[1]

It was a dark hour in the history of the Republic, but fortunately the dawn was near.

[1] See George M. Wolfson, "Butler's Relations with Grant and the Army of the James in 1864" in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, October, 1911.

CHAPTER XI

PETERSBURG AND APPOMATTOX

"I BEGIN to see it. You will succeed. God bless you all." Such was the message of Lincoln to his trusted general, when he learned of the crossing of the James. It marks the beginning of the second stage of Grant's campaign against Lee, in which the object and methods were widely different from the earlier ones. If Grant could not win a decisive victory outside of Richmond and so destroy the fighting power of the enemy, then obviously the proper course of action was to hold Richmond and Lee's army in a vise-like grip while the other armies of the Union conquered the sources of supplies and contracting, like the anaconda, would eventually strangle the Confederacy. This was the policy of the next nine months, and that it was carried on with so complete a success must be attributed to the quality of Grant's patriotism which made him willing to endure criticism and reproach, while his subordinates were winning laurels for themselves in environing fields of action.

Petersburg is an outpost of Richmond, located twenty-two miles to the south, on the lower bank of the Appomattox, which is navigable for large vessels up to that point. At this time it had a

population of less than twenty thousand, but its importance was derived from the fact that it was a railroad centre. From the east came the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad now under Union control, but from the south came the important Weldon Railroad connecting with Raleigh, Goldsboro and Wilmington, the latter one of the few remaining Atlantic ports available for blockade-runners with their much-needed supplies; to the west ran the Southside Railroad to Lynchburg, and the food for the Army of Northern Virginia, as well as the city of Richmond, was brought in large measure over these two roads. In addition to the connecting railroad from Petersburg there were two other railroads to Richmond, still under Confederate control; one ran southwest to Danville and Greensboro, crossing the Southside Railroad at Burkesville, and the other ran northwest to Gordonsville, connecting with the rich Valley of the Shenandoah. It was evident that the cutting of these railroads meant famine in Richmond and eventually surrender, and the strategy of the concluding campaigns is based upon an appreciation of this situation.

In the opening months of the siege, both armies were reduced in numbers. Although Lee had received heavy reinforcements during his retreat south and had now united with Beauregard, he had detached over 25,000 men for operations in the Shenandoah under Early, and there were times when the total force under his immediate command was less than 50,000. Likewise Grant had been

compelled to provide for the defense of Washington and eventually for an offensive movement under Sheridan, so as to reduce his main army to less than 90,000. Notwithstanding the exhaustion of his forces, he was not content with the slow processes of siege. The week after the assault on Petersburg, the Second and Sixth Corps were moved to the left in an effort to cut the Weldon road, but this movement was not well conducted and Hill thrust himself between the two corps inflicting considerable loss. At the same time, Wilson led two cavalry divisions around Petersburg and destroyed large sections of the Weldon, Lynchburg and Southside Railroads. Further offensive operations were blocked by the heat of midsummer; for a period of forty-six days there was no rain and the soldiers suffered greatly.

It was at this time that Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Pleasants, of the Ninth Corps, conceived the idea of a mine for the purpose of forcing an opening in the entrenchments of Petersburg. His regiment was composed in large measure of miners of the Schuylkill region. For four weeks his men were engaged in constructing a vast gallery, over 510 feet in length, with branch galleries under the Confederate lines containing eight magazines, each with 1,000 pounds of powder. As the work was in front of the Ninth Corps, Burnside was placed in charge of the operation. Originally he selected Ferrero's negro division to make the assault, but as these troops were raw, this arrangement was not approved by Meade and

Grant. By the singular device of the lot among the other division commanders, Burnside then selected Ledlie's division for the charge, a choice which proved an evil chance. Meanwhile Grant had sent the Second Corps with the cavalry to the north side of the James intending to divert Lee's attention from the point of attack. After some heavy skirmishing, the Second Corps returned to the lines of Petersburg in time to assist in the assault. The Confederate engineers anticipated an attack by mining, but their counter-mine was on a different level from the gallery of attack, and so the plan was not discovered.

It was intended to spring the mine at half-past three on the morning of July 30th, but a defect in the fuse delayed the operation until two brave officers entered the gallery and changed the splicing. It was twenty minutes of five when the explosion occurred, making a crater one hundred and fifty feet long, sixty feet wide and twenty-five feet deep, located about one hundred yards from Burnside's line. Up to this moment the plan was completely successful; not only were the lines broken, but also the battery, and three hundred men in Elliott's salient had been buried in the debris. For a time the unexpectedness of the blow had paralyzed the defenders. This was the time for vigorous offensive operations. It was expected that Ledlie would lead his men through the opening and take possession of Cemetery Hill beyond, an elevation which commanded Petersburg.

But Ledlie did not accompany his division and was in no position to give directions to his men. The assaulting column rushed into the crater and stayed there for over an hour without formation or leadership. While this mass of men was huddled in and about the opening which engineering skill had made, the great opportunity was passing. Lee had brought up reinforcements in men and artillery and had reformed his position in the rear so as to make it unassailable. Eventually Grant went in person and on foot to the scene of the assault and found so much disorder and confusion and so little perception of the next thing to be done, that he ordered the column to withdraw. Another golden chance was thus wasted, this time at the cost of 3,500 men, and one of the most wisely conceived enterprises of the siege was brought to naught. The practical effect of this disaster was the retirement of Burnside and Ledlie from active command, and in the later stages of the campaign, the Ninth Corps was commanded by General John G. Parke.

During the next four months public interest centered in the Valley of the Shenandoah. At the time of the grand advance in May, as a collateral movement, Sigel had led a column southward in the Valley, which had been defeated at Newmarket. General Hunter was then appointed in his place and in June he advanced with some success, defeating a strong force of Confederates under Jones at Piedmont, and threatening Lynchburg. To save this important city, Lee had detached Early from his

main army at Cold Harbor and Hunter, who had exhausted his ammunition, retreated to West Virginia. This exposed the fertile Valley of the Shenandoah to the Confederates and Early at once started toward the Potomac upon what proved to be the last invasion of the North. It was Lee's hope that this invasion, like that of Jackson two years earlier, would lead to the detachment of so much of Grant's army as would compel him to retire from before Richmond; or else would force another hurried attack upon impregnable fortifications in the vain desire to hasten a conclusion of the struggle. That he did not succeed in either of these plans may be attributed to the indomitable temper of his opponent. But the audacity of the movement and its early successes aroused all the latent apprehensiveness of the North.

In the first week of July, Early crossed the Potomac seizing abundant provisions and laying the rich towns of Maryland under requisitions of money and supplies. At the Monocacy River, he overwhelmed a small force under General Lew Wallace who was defending the road to Baltimore, and pushing south on July 11th he came within striking distance of Washington. The capital had been stripped of defenders for Grant's campaign, and there were only raw levies and home guards for its defense, but when Grant learned of Early's invasion, he had ordered the Sixth Corps to the North and also the Nineteenth Corps which had been operating in the West. Fortunately these veteran di-

visions arrived on the same day that Early approached the capital by the Rockville road. In the presence of this overwhelming force, the Confederates retreated westward and across the Potomac, but their cavalry continued a series of damaging raids in one of which McCausland burnt the beautiful town of Chambersburg. Meanwhile, there were enough soldiers in Maryland to have overwhelmed Early's entire army, but they were divided among four military departments and there was little coöperation among their commanders. The emergency brought Grant from Petersburg and after a hasty review of the situation, he consolidated all of the forces of the Shenandoah, making a working force of 22,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry with Sheridan in sole control.

This happy inspiration brought into independent command one of the few born soldiers of the war. It is difficult to imagine Sheridan anywhere but in the saddle, where his courage, fire and sagacity made him an invincible leader. After six weeks of preliminary manœuvering he won a decisive victory at the Opequon on September 19th. "We have just sent them whirling through Winchester, and we are after them to-morrow" was his message announcing the victory. Three days later at Fisher's Hill he won another battle, of which sixty guns and a thousand prisoners were the trophies. Upon receipt of the tidings of these disasters, Lee detached Kershaw's division and a strong force of cavalry from his own weakened army in order to reinforce

Early. After his victories Sheridan had encamped his men at Cedar Creek, and had been instructed to make arrangements for the return of the Sixth Corps to Petersburg. On October 15th the business of his department took him to Washington for consultation, and Early, although ignorant of the absence of his opponent, determined to attack with his increased forces during this time.

At half-past four on the morning of October 19th the Confederate army burst upon the camp at Cedar Creek and in a few minutes the surprise was complete. Crook's division and the Nineteenth Corps were forced out of their camps before they had formed in line of battle, and while the Sixth Corps retained its formation it could do little more than cover the retreat. By nine o'clock Early had won a complete victory and was in possession of the Union camps with over 1,400 prisoners. Sheridan had spent the previous night at Winchester, twelve miles away, and being aroused by the sounds of cannon he rode out at once to the field of battle. Nothing in military history is more dramatic than the concluding incidents of the day. Rallying the fugitives and appealing to the stragglers, he brought them back to the battle-line which was still gallantly maintained by Wright with the Sixth Corps. Reforming his men and taking advantage of the disorder of his enemy, some of whom had been plundering the captured camps in a search after much-needed clothing, he led his troops once more to the attack and, in the late afternoon, regained

not only the captured cannon but also a large portion of the guns of the enemy.

This sweeping victory ended the hard fighting in the Valley and a few weeks later the remnants of Early's discouraged infantry were transferred to Richmond. After destroying the supplies in the Valley, Sheridan sent the Sixth Corps to Grant. In February he marched up the Valley with 10,000 cavalry and after defeating Early's weakened force at Waynesboro, and destroying the railroad he rode around Richmond and rejoined Grant in time to participate in the closing campaign.

Sheridan's experience is an apt illustration of the complete success of Grant's extensive plans for the conclusion of the war. In August, Farragut had made a brilliant attack upon the forts of Mobile Bay, thereby closing the harbor. In the next month Sherman marched around Atlanta and in several pitched battles so completely defeated Hood, who had succeeded Johnston, that on September 3d Washington was electrified with the message: "Atlanta is ours, and fairly won." These victories were the visible proof of the success of the war and in November Lincoln was triumphantly re-elected, having carried all of the Northern states except New Jersey, Delaware and Kentucky. After taking Atlanta, Sherman sent Thomas back to Tennessee in order to watch Hood who was contemplating a Northern invasion, and with 60,000 men, the picked soldiers of the West, he severed his communication with the North and led his men through

Georgia, taking Savannah on December 22d and thus piercing the Confederacy. The Western campaign culminated in the middle of December, when Thomas at Nashville not only defeated Hood, but so overwhelmed his army that it practically disappeared as an aggressive force.

While Sherman and Sheridan were winning the victories which made certain Lincoln's reëlection, Grant held Lee and his army in the lines from Petersburg to Richmond. He was not idle during these six months, but the condition of his army and the large detachment necessary for Sheridan's success made impossible a strong offensive campaign. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that Grant's command of all the armies of the Union made great demands upon both his time and his energy. As Sheridan's army was within his own circle of operations, he gave a close oversight to this general. When Sherman recommended the march to the sea it was to Grant that he looked for the requisite authority and support. When weather conditions forced Thomas to hesitate before attacking Hood, Grant, dreading another invasion of Kentucky, hurried to Washington and dispatched Logan to take command,—a change which fortunately was averted by Thomas's complete success. Without detracting in the slightest degree from the reputation of these great lieutenants, it is but just that some measure of the credit for their decisive victories should be given to the commander in whose far-seeing plans they had leading parts.

During the autumn of 1864 and the succeeding winter the plan of operations at Petersburg was easy to understand. Lee held strong lines of entrenchments about thirty miles in extent, so as to cover the railroads as well as the two cities. Without attacking the entrenchments, as opportunity offered, Grant sent out flanking expeditions both to the North and to the South, intent upon stretching Lee's lines to the breaking point. In August Hancock crossed the James and threatened the forts surrounding Richmond. At the same time Warren led the Fifth Corps around to the south and seized a portion of the Weldon Road. In the next month Ord was moved north of the James and captured Fort Harrison. At the same time Warren and Parke led another expedition around the left flank and captured some entrenchments there. These movements not only extended the Union line but prevented the detachment of reinforcements to Early, and thus contributed to the success of Sheridan's campaign.

Late in October a strong force was sent around to the left in an attempt to seize the Southside Railroad, then the only Confederate railroad to Petersburg, but Lee massed so heavily on his right to defeat this movement that after a brisk engagement at Hatcher's Run, Grant ordered the withdrawal of the expedition. During the winter there was ample opportunity for rest and the drilling of raw recruits. Thousands of the slightly wounded returned to the army and the success in other fields gave oppor-

tunity for reinforcements from the pacified sections. Gradually the inevitable success of Grant's plan became apparent and the fate of Richmond was certain.

The once powerful Confederacy was tottering to its fall. It was not so much because of lack of men as the exhaustion of supplies and the means of transportation. The patient and efficient work of the Federal navy had so maintained the blockade that the necessaries of warfare could not be obtained from abroad, and the lack of manufacturing facilities in the South made it impossible to supply the need from domestic production. One of "Jeb" Stuart's men has said that there were but four commodities "with which the South was plentifully supplied, viz., tobacco, cotton, money and horses." Money was supplied by printing presses of the Confederacy, while the others were native products of the soil. The destruction of the lines of transportation and the difficulties of obtaining rails, locomotives and cars had led to a breakdown in the commissary department. When Sherman marched through Georgia, planning to live from the country, his men found it a land of plenty, but meanwhile Lee's heroic army was almost starving in the trenches at Petersburg. Gradually the narrowing lines of the armies for the Union forced extreme privation upon the contracted area of the Confederacy. During its last winter sugar was $20 a pound, flour from $500 to $1,000 per barrel and a pair of boots cost $200. Even at Lee's table meat

was served but twice a week and the general fare was boiled cabbage, sweet potatoes and corn pone.

Grant early recognized that the Confederacy was being starved out. Writing to Washburne on August 16, 1864, he said: "The rebels have now in their ranks their last men. The little boys and old men are guarding prisoners, railroad bridges, and forming a good part of their garrisons for entrenched positions. A man lost by them cannot be replaced. They have robbed the cradle and the grave equally to get their present force. Besides what they lose in frequent skirmishes and battles, they are now losing from desertions and other causes at least one regiment per day. With this drain upon them the end is visible, if we will but be true to ourselves."

During the winter of 1864–1865 Grant spent most of the time at City Point, at the junction of the James and Appomattox Rivers, where in winter-quarters he kept in constant touch with each phase of the campaign. His wife and children visited him there for a time, and also Lincoln. In December an unsuccessful expedition was sent against Fort Fisher which commanded the harbor of Wilmington in North Carolina,—a favorite resort of blockade runners. As Butler assumed the charge of this expedition, the usual fiasco resulted, thus causing his removal from the command of the Army of the James. But one month later the same soldiers, then under the skilful leadership of General Terry, captured Fort Fisher, thereby closing the harbor. Meanwhile Sherman advanced from

Savannah and, piercing the Carolinas, had compelled the evacuation of Columbia, Charleston and Raleigh. To halt his irresistible advance, Davis was obliged to summon from retirement General Joseph Johnston, whom he cordially disliked, to take command of the remnants of Hood's army and such other fragments as could be gathered together to resist Sherman. Following his usual policy of concentration, Grant now ordered Stoneman with Thomas's cavalry to threaten Virginia from the southwest, while Schofield was detached from Thomas and sent to Wilmington to join Sherman. The Northern lines were fast closing around Lee's devoted band and, weakened by privation and constant campaigning, it could not long avert the final disaster.

There was no help to be obtained from the civil counsels of the Confederacy in this emergency. The frequent issues of paper money had so debauched the currency that industry had become completely disorganized. In January, the Confederate Congress made Lee the Commander-in-Chief, giving him practically supreme power, and two months later, on his recommendation, an act was passed authorizing the enlistment of slaves as soldiers. Previous to this time Lee had advised the civil administration that he could not long maintain the lines before Richmond, and had suggested that the capital should be abandoned, and that his army, joining with that of Johnston, should endeavor to overwhelm Sherman before Grant could

arrive. In the field of military speculation, it would be interesting to consider the chances of success for this plan, and also the effect of such a daring stroke upon the endurance of the North. Either the obstinacy of President Davis or the muddy condition of the roads, or both, postponed its execution, and before the opportunity was utilized, Grant had resumed the offensive.

Early in March on the eve of Lincoln's second inauguration, Grant had been advised that Lee desired an interview with him. He reported this request to Stanton, who replied with the instructions of the President, that he should hold no conference with Lee except upon military matters, all political questions being reserved for Lincoln's decision. Shortly after the President came to City Point, where presently arrived Sherman whose army was then in North Carolina. There also came Sheridan from the Shenandoah Valley, and for the first and only time in the history of the war these four mighty leaders of the North were together. The anticipated arrival of Sherman's army would give Grant an overwhelming preponderance of numbers. But without waiting for his great lieutenant, Grant determined to give the Army of the Potomac a final chance to end the struggle, without the assistance of the soldiers from the West.

There can be no doubt as to Grant's confidence in the outcome of the next operations. Writing to Dr. Kittoe on February 24, 1865, he said: "In three weeks more I do not believe there will be a

Rebel Army in the field capable of resisting the advance of 10,000 cavalry. This is my candid judgment. Only I may, in view of the bad roads that may be expected during the next month, fix the time for this final triumph a little too short." As a matter of fact, it was just over six weeks when he received the surrender of Lee's army.

At the end of March Grant had about 116,000 men, including Sheridan's cavalry, under his immediate command. The Army of Northern Virginia had been reduced to 52,000 effectives, defending a line of entrenchments which, from constant stretching to the south in order to face flanking movements, was now thirty-seven miles in extent. The plans for the concluding campaign were most carefully prepared. Grant's orders are an apt illustration of his military prescience. On March 24th he advised each commander of the plan of operations to be inaugurated five days later, and in conclusion gave warning that the enemy might come out from his lines to attack the moving columns. Some weeks before he had notified each commander to be on the lookout for an offensive movement to break the lines at Petersburg, and on March 26th Lee, concentrating a heavy force under Gordon, made a sudden dash at Fort Stedman, in the centre of the Ninth Corps. This gallant sortie was for a time successful, but in a few hours the attack was repulsed and the Confederates were driven back with a loss of 2,000 prisoners. Moreover, taking advantage of the weakening of the defensive

lines to form the aggressive columns, Wright and Humphreys, who now commanded the Second Corps, captured the entrenched picket-line in front of the left of the Army of the Potomac. The net result of Lee's final offensive operation was a complete defeat.

The strategy of Grant's last campaign was faultless, and the execution perfect. Leaving about one-half of his army under tested commanders who had developed in large measure under his own eye, —Weitzel, Ord, Parke and Wright,—to face the entrenched lines of the Confederates, he moved the Second and Fifth Corps, together with the cavalry, to his extreme left, and placing this detachment under the command of Sheridan, he ordered him to break the line of the Southside Railroad. At first Grant had in contemplation another cavalry raid and had even prepared orders for the cavalry to join Sherman in North Carolina. But when Sheridan protested that the time had come for a finishing blow, Grant explained that these orders were a blind to be used if circumstances made it necessary; that his own intention was to end the matter at once. On March 29th the turning movement began and by nightfall the cavalry had reached Dinwiddie Court House. Five Forks was an important cross-roads on Lee's extreme right protecting the line of the railroad. Thither Lee hurried Pickett with 7,000 infantry and Fitzhugh Lee with an equal number of cavalry. On March 31st there was a hard day's fighting on the road from Five Forks to

the Court House, but Warren's advance with the Fifth Corps compelled Pickett's retreat to his entrenched lines. On the next day the decisive battle of the campaign was fought at Five Forks. Sheridan struck first with his cavalry, and with admirable skill dismounted some of his men so as to engage the enemy at close range. Meanwhile Warren brought up the Fifth Corps against Pickett's left, and in the late afternoon the Confederates were routed in one of the most sweeping victories of the war. Five thousand prisoners were proof of the victory and as Pickett retreated to the north, the coveted railroad, now the main artery of the Confederacy, was brought within Sheridan's grasp. In the moment of victory Sheridan relieved Warren of command on the ground that he had been slow to attack, a charge which afterward gave rise to a military investigation in which Warren was vindicated.

With keen anxiety, Grant awaited the news from his left and when the tidings of the overwhelming victory came, there was a scene of rejoicing at his headquarters such as had not been witnessed since the beginning of the war. Realizing that Lee must now evacuate Petersburg, the first fear was that his movement might be commenced at once thereby enabling the enemy to concentrate against Sheridan's advanced force. Instantly Grant sent out orders for a night bombardment all along the line, and from ten o'clock until midnight the thunder of the guns proclaimed the alertness of his forces. At

four o'clock on Sunday morning, April 2d, Parke, Wright and Humphreys led their columns to a general assault. Now the advanced positions which had been won the preceding week proved of inestimable advantage, and by seven o'clock the line of entrenchments was broken and Petersburg, the once invincible citadel of the Confederacy, had become untenable.

Jefferson Davis was attending the Episcopal service in St. Paul's Church when he received Lee's message that his lines were broken, and that Richmond must be evacuated by nightfall. Placing Gordon in command of his rear guard, Lee ordered his men to concentrate at Amelia Court House, south of the Appomattox and about thirty-five miles to the west of Petersburg. In the early hours of April 3d Ewell led the last of the Confederates from the capital, and within a few hours Weitzel had taken possession of Richmond, in the name of the Union. At about the same hour Petersburg was surrendered to Parke and Wright, and the long siege was over.

It is difficult to narrate the story of the retreat of the Army of Northern Virginia without a genuine feeling of sympathy for the brave men into whose souls destiny had driven the bitterness of defeat. Morris Schaff, in "The Sunset of the Confederacy," has written a prose poem of warfare which will help to immortalize to later generations the closing hours of Lee's brave army. Many things went wrong in Lee's calculations. By April 4th he had concen-

trated his army, now less than 37,000, at Amelia Court House where he expected to have found supplies. But his orders to Richmond lacked clearness and the trains which should have carried food and forage had been used instead to carry off to Danville the civil officers and archives of the Confederacy. Stern necessity therefore compelled him to halt for a day while food was being collected.

Meanwhile Sheridan had not rested after his victory at Five Forks. He was pushing forward in pursuit of Pickett's retreating forces when he received word of the evacuation of Petersburg. Speeding west along roads parallel with the retreating Confederates, he seized Jetersville on April 4th, where he fortified lines eight miles south of Amelia Court House, commanding the Danville Railroad. The next day he was joined by Humphreys and Griffin with the Second and Fifth Corps, and thus an overwhelming force was planted across Lee's direct line of retreat. The road to Danville being blocked, Lee now determined to march westward to Lynchburg. Starting on the night of April 5th, he passed around the Union position, heading toward Rice's Station. Meade lost several hours by marching toward Amelia Court House, but when the new direction of the retreat was discovered, his army quickly pursued. At Sailor's Creek, Ewell stopped to engage the Sixth Corps in order to protect the trains, but Sheridan with his cavalry cut in behind the line of retreat, and eventually Ewell's whole force was obliged to surrender. The trophies of

the day were 6,000 prisoners and several general officers. After this disaster Lee reorganized his fast-diminishing army into two corps, with Gordon and Longstreet in command, and crossing to the north side of the Appomattox proceeded west on the Lynchburg Pike. Grant now divided his army. The Second and Sixth Corps, with Meade in command, followed Lee on the direct line of retreat, while Sheridan, with the cavalry and Griffin and Ord, hastened along the south bank of the river, by way of Walker's Church. Sheridan had the shorter line to Appomattox Court House and he pushed the advance with so much vigor that on the evening of April 8th his cavalry took possession of the station, seizing four train loads of provisions which had come from Lynchburg to meet Lee's starving army. Scarcely had Sheridan seized the Lynchburg Pike, before he saw Gordon, with the advance of the Confederates, approaching from the east, and although Sheridan was without infantry he determined to hold his position, sending word to Ord and Griffin to make a forced march to his support.

The morning disclosed Lee's desperate condition. Sheridan with the cavalry blocked further advance to the west. Meade, with Humphreys and Wright, was close in pursuit of the rear. There was a chance that the cavalry might be driven away before the supporting infantry could arrive and, true to his military instincts, Lee resolved to try that chance. Gordon was sent against Sheridan, while Longstreet, two miles in the rear, formed in line

of battle against Meade. The last charge of the Confederacy was conducted with the usual dash and spirit of its devoted soldiery. If they had had nothing to face but cavalry the way of retreat might have been won, but when the opening skirmish was concluded and the cavalry had commenced to retire, their places were taken by the long lines of blue infantry. With incredible devotion, Ord and Griffin had marched thirty miles in the preceding day and night and like a mighty wave advanced across the pike to crush the last hope of the Confederacy. Outflanked, outnumbered and outgeneraled, Gordon sent to Lee this despairing message: "Tell General Lee that my command has been fought to a frazzle, and I fear I can do nothing unless I am heavily supported by Longstreet's Corps." It was this message which brought from Lee the pathetic exclamation,—"Then there is nothing left me but to go and see General Grant, and I had rather die a thousand deaths."

During the final week of the life of the Army of Northern Virginia, Grant's generalship was never displayed to better advantage. From the moment that Lee had abandoned the fortified lines, Grant realized that henceforth the Confederate Army was his only true objective point. Without turning aside to enter Richmond, so hardly won and with so great cost, he hurried his columns in an immediate pursuit of the retreating foe, and himself accompanied first one corps and then another, giving personal direction to every detail of the

advance. On the evening of April 5th, when Lee was at Amelia Court House and Sheridan was at Jetersville, the latter felt that Meade's orders for the next day would swing the army too much to the north and thereby give Lee a chance to escape. He hastily sent a dispatch to Grant describing the situation on the battle line and concluding,—"I wish you were here yourself." Although it was then quite dark, Grant and his staff made a night ride of almost twenty miles, so close to the enemy's lines that there was imminent danger of capture, in order that he might take personal charge of the work. As a result, the line of march was changed, thus paving the way for the decisive victory at Sailor's Creek on the next day.

After Ewell had surrendered, Sheridan sent a report to Grant in which he described the disorganization of the enemy, ending with these words,—"If the thing is pressed, I think that Lee will surrender." Grant forwarded this message to Lincoln who instantly replied,—"Let the thing be pressed."

On April 7th, Lee had escaped to the north bank of the Appomattox, but Meade with two corps was in close pursuit, and Sheridan with the cavalry and the left wing of the army was on the south bank, but had control of the shorter road to Appomattox Station. Grant had been talking with some of the prisoners of Sailor's Creek who had told him of the demoralization of Lee's army,—in particular, Ewell was quoted as saying that for every man

killed after this in the war somebody was responsible, and it would be little better than murder. Realizing that pride might prevent Lee from making the first step in the negotiations, Grant took the initiative and on April 7th sent Lee a letter asking for surrender.[1]

When this letter was delivered to Lee he was on the Lynchburg pike in full expectation of receiving supplies at Appomattox and without knowledge that Sheridan was outstripping him in the pursuit. There can be little doubt but that even in this extremity Lee still hoped to make good his escape to the mountains, and to effect a possible junction with Johnston. He replied, however, to Grant's letter, asking for terms but without halting his retreat. On April 8th Grant wrote again, stating that peace was his great desire and that consequently he would insist upon but one condition, viz., that those surrendered should be disqualified for further service until properly exchanged.

On the evening of April 8th Grant was with Meade's column and was suffering from a severe headache, the result of his exertions of the previous week. About midnight he received Lee's reply, in which the latter, who was still ignorant of Sheridan's advance to Appomattox Station, declared that the emergency had not yet arisen which called for the surrender of his army, but suggested a conference to consider the problem of the restoration of peace. Having in mind Stanton's instruc-

[1] The full correspondence is given in Appendix C, page 362.

tions of the preceding month, Grant replied, in the early morning of April 9th, refusing a conference on this subject, as beyond his authority. In the concluding sentence of this letter, however, he expressed his sincere hope that "all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life."

While this correspondence was going on, there were animated discussions in the Confederate camp on the subject of surrender. Most of the officers had reached the conclusion that the struggle was hopeless, and in spite of the articles of war which stigmatize such a course of action as treason, they had presented their conclusions to Lee. It was pathetically hard for their commander to bring himself to that point of view. By nature and temperament the most daring of soldiers, he still hoped that some brilliant stroke would bring him the victory. Many times in the past his military genius had wrought what had seemed to be miracles, and he longed for one more chance. Moreover, his pride revolted at the idea of yielding to one whose name was synonymous with "unconditional surrender," for, even with Grant's letters before him, Lee could not appreciate the greatness of the magnanimity of his opponent. But when on the morning of April 9th, Gordon's attack disclosed that the way of retreat was blocked and the Army of Northern Virginia was surrounded, Lee yielded to the inevitable and displaying the white flag as the basis for a truce, he wrote again to Grant requesting an interview for the purpose of surrender.

Meanwhile Grant, still suffering excruciating pain, had ridden across the country to join Sheridan. While *en route* he was overtaken by the messenger with Lee's letter, and hastily dispatching a reply he rode into Appomattox where he found Lee and one of his aides, Colonel Marshall, waiting for him in the house of Wilmer McLean, the most pretentious residence in the town. After a hasty greeting with Sheridan and Ord, Grant joined Lee in the parlor of the McLean house.

It was then about half-past one on Palm Sunday, April 9th. The contrast between the two generals was striking. Lee was the senior by fifteen years and, in spite of his extremity, he was attired in a new uniform which set off his handsome and aristocratic figure. He wore a fine sword with a jeweled hilt, a present from some English sympathizers; on the other hand, Grant was stooped, without sword or sash, wearing a blouse of dark blue flannel, his clothing and boots spattered with mud, with nothing but a pair of shoulder-straps to indicate his rank. The first greeting between these two great commanders was private, each being attended by one aide, but presently Grant called into the room the waiting generals and his staff, who were present during the consideration of the terms. Afterward Grant recorded that his own feelings at this moment of his greatest triumph were sad and depressed. "I felt like anything rather than rejoicing at the downfall of a foe who had fought so long and valiantly, and had suffered so much for a cause, though that

cause was, I believe, one of the worst for which a people ever fought, and one for which there was least excuse."

Grant and Lee had met previously in the Mexican War and their first conversation was about old times. Once in the City of Mexico Grant had reported at Scott's headquarters in a fatigue uniform and Lee, who was then serving on Scott's staff, had directed his attention to the general's orders, that all officers reporting at headquarters should be in full uniform. The contrast in appearance at Appomattox brought the recollection of this incident to Grant's memory and his first feeling made him uncomfortable lest Lee should recall what had happened in Mexico, when the contrast in uniforms was equally pronounced.

After a desultory conversation, Lee asked the terms of surrender and, calling for his order book, Grant proceeded to write out his proposition. While writing he glanced at Lee's magnificent sword and, reflecting that it would be an unnecessary humiliation to require the officers to surrender their personal weapons, he added the sentence exempting the side-arms of the officers and their private horses from its terms. When Lee read over Grant's letter he first commented upon the inadvertent omission of the word "exchanged," and a proper correction was made. When he reached the generous sentence which exempted the private property of officers he seemed touched and said,—"This will have a very happy effect upon my army."

After a careful reading he stated that his cavalrymen and artillerists also owned their own horses and inquired whether these men would be allowed to retain their property. Grant's reply became historic: "I think we have fought the last battle of the war,—I sincerely hope so,—and that the surrender of this army will be followed soon by that of all the others; and I take it that most of the men in the ranks are small farmers, and as the country has been so raided by the two armies, it is doubtful whether they will be able to put in a crop to carry themselves and their families through the next winter without the aid of the horses they are now riding, and I will arrange it in this way. I will not change the terms as now written, but I will instruct the officers I shall appoint to receive the paroles to let all the men who claim to own a horse or mule take the animals home with them to work their little farms." To this generous remark, Lee made appreciative reply: "This will have the best possible effect upon the men. It will be very gratifying, and will do much toward conciliating our people."

The terms were then copied by Colonel Parker, a full-blooded Indian who had been serving on Grant's staff, and Lee drafted a letter of acceptance. In the conversation which followed Lee acknowledged his lack of provisions and Grant directed that 25,000 rations be furnished at once. A little after four o'clock Lee, with Colonel Marshall, left the room and while waiting for his horse to be brought he gazed sadly in the direction where his army was en-

camped and, in the agony of his spirit, thrice smote the palm of his left hand with his right fist,—his one expression of emotion during the momentous interview.

As he rode off to his camp the news of surrender had reached the soldiers and the firing of salutes began. Grant sent a hasty order to have the salutes stopped saying, "The rebels are our countrymen again." A short dispatch was sent to Stanton announcing the surrender.[1]

The next day was spent in the preparation and signing of paroles which reached a total of 28,231.[2] In the forenoon Grant rode within the Confederate lines and had a half hour's conference with Lee, both sitting on horseback. He urged upon Lee the necessity of peace and suggested that he should use his great influence to that end. Lee replied that

[1] The details of the surrender at Appomattox have been taken in large measure from "Campaigning with Grant," by Horace Porter, who was present.

[2] The form of parole issued was as follows:

I, ——— ———, Prisoner of War, do hereby give my solemn Parole of Honor not to take part in hostilities against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged; and that I will not do anything, directly or indirectly, to the detriment or disparagement of the authority of the United States, until properly exchanged as aforesaid.

———

I certify that ——— ——— gave the foregoing Parole in my presence, and signed it in duplicate, and has permission to go to his home and there remain undisturbed.

this was a matter for the civil authority, and after a courteous interview they parted never to meet again, except once when Lee called upon Grant in the White House.

When the Army of Northern Virginia made its last march to stack its arms, General Chamberlain, of the Fifth Corps, was appointed to receive the surrender. As Gordon came down the road at the head of his column, Chamberlain ordered his men to salute and, with instant appreciation of the courtesy, Gordon directed the proper response. Without cheering or sound of trumpet or gun, but in an awed silence, salute answering salute, honor meeting honor, the veteran opponents of many momentous battles met and parted.

It is impossible to commend too highly the meeting at Appomattox as an evidence of American character—both in triumph and adversity. Afterward Colonel Marshall said that if Grant and his officers had studied how not to offend, they could not have borne themselves with more good breeding. "There is not in our whole history as a people," says Charles Francis Adams, "any incident so creditable to our manhood. . . . Grant was considerate and magnanimous,—restrained in victory; Lee, dignified in defeat, carried himself with that sense of absolute fitness which compelled respect."

So ended the historic scene at Appomattox,—a campaign which for brilliancy of conception, accuracy of execution and completeness of success,

ranks among the decisive struggles of history. Livermore's comment is suggestive:—"With a force of about 116,000 effectives, Grant manœuvred, and drove out of their entrenchments in front of Richmond and Petersburg about 52,000 Confederates, and then with 72,000 men, pursuing for eighty miles the remainder of the Confederate army, estimated at 37,000, captured, dispersed or put *hors de combat* on the way about 9,000, and finally surrounded and received the surrender of 28,231. In no other modern campaign has an army ever pursued, surrounded and captured so many men in full flight."

So striking was Grant's success that it gave rise to a curious tradition, based upon alleged conversations with Confederate officers, that when Weitzel entered Richmond, he found there a report from Lee to the Confederate Secretary of War in which the former outlined his proposed plan of retreat when he should be forced to retire from Petersburg, and that this information was hurried to Grant, thus enabling him to anticipate and meet each move of the enemy. However soothing this legend may be to the susceptibilities of those who counted Lee as invincible, it seems to have but little historic foundation. The truth is that Grant here, as at Vicksburg, was at his best. His army was well in hand, and he had personal knowledge of the effectiveness of each subordinate. Against any foe of equal strength and position, the Army of the Potomac under Grant's leadership would probably have triumphed, and

when face to face with Lee's weakened and exhausted soldiers, it was irresistible.

The tanner's son was now the idol of the nation, for he had fought its battles, until at last came victory and peace.[1]

[1] The summary of losses of the Army of the Potomac shows that success under Grant had cost less than failure under his predecessors.

Total losses under :—

McClellan,	Apr. 5 to Aug. 8, '62,	24,448
Pope,	June 6 to Sept. 2, '62,	16,955
McClellan,	Sept. 3 to Nov. 14, '62,	28,577
Burnside,	Nov. 15 to Jan. 25, '63,	13,214
Hooker,	Jan. 26 to June 27, '63,	25,027
Meade,	June 28, '63 to May 4, '64,	31,530
		139,751

Total losses under Grant :—

1864, May 5 to June 24,	Army of Potomac—Rapidan to James,	54,926
1864, May 5 to June 14,	Army of James—South of James River,	6,215
1864, June 15 to July 31,	Armies of Potomac and James,	22,936
1864, Aug. 1 to Dec. 31,	Armies of Potomac and James,	24,621
1865, Jan. 1 to Apr. 9,	Armies of Potomac and James and Sheridan	15,692
		124,390

CHAPTER XII

RECONSTRUCTION

By the camp-fires at Appomattox on the evening of the surrender, the military bands played "Home Sweet Home." It was universally recognized that the overthrow of Lee meant the end of the war. Not only did it remove from the conflict the most redoubtable captain and the best appointed army of the Confederacy, but also it had long been understood that the combat between Grant and Lee would be decisive of the struggle. All eyes centered on their field of action, and both sides admitted the finality of the result. The popular rejoicing in the North was fervent and grateful, and gave evidence of that deep religious faith which, beneath a surface of apparent materialism, is fundamental in the American heart. The churches were crowded and "Old Hundred," or some other hymn of gratitude, was heard wherever men assembled, even in the halls of trade.

In the exultation of the hour Grant did not lose sight of the duties which the new aspect of the struggle presented. The war was costing four millions a day; recruiting was still going on under the stimulus of bounties; and there were over one million men in the armies of the North. Leaving

Meade in command, Grant returned to City Point where immediate arrangements were made to reduce the military expenditures. Realizing that Sherman would probably be able to take care of Johnston without the assistance of the Army of the Potomac, he hastened to Washington where, on April 13th, there was a general illumination with fireworks. Secretary Welles has described the popular rejoicing in the capital,—"The nation seems delirious with joy. Guns are firing, bells ringing, flags flying, men laughing, children cheering, all, all are jubilant." On the day of Grant's return, orders were issued stopping all drafting and recruiting and further purchase of ammunition and supplies. During the evening display the President and Mrs. Lincoln took Grant in their carriage to observe the fireworks, and everywhere they were greeted with nine cheers for the President and an equal number for the General. Never was the nation happier; never was there rejoicing which turned so quickly to sorrow and dismay!

April 14th is a date written large in the history of the United States. Four years before the flag had been lowered at Fort Sumter, and the crisis precipitated. Now to signalize the triumph of the Union, General Anderson, who had been Major in charge at the original bombardment, was appointed to raise the Stars and Stripes in Charleston Harbor and Henry Ward Beecher, the most noted of the anti-slavery orators, delivered a memorial oration. In Washington there was a meeting

of the Cabinet which Grant was invited to attend. A thorough discussion ensued of the new problems which victory had brought,—the reopening of trade in the Southern states, the reconstruction of the state governments, etc. Some inquiry was made as to Sherman's progress and the absence of news from North Carolina was commented upon. It was then that the President remarked that he expected favorable news soon, for on the night before he had had the usual dream which had preceded nearly every important event of the war. He said that he seemed to be in a singular indescribable vessel moving with great rapidity toward an indefinite shore, and that he had had this dream before Sumter, Antietam, Gettysburg, Stone River, Vicksburg, etc. After the Cabinet had adjourned, Lincoln invited General and Mrs. Grant to attend the theatre with him that night, but Grant, finding that his work at Washington was now concluded, decided instead to visit his children who were at school in Burlington, N. J.

Grant and his wife took the evening train for the North. When they reached Philadelphia, they crossed to the ferry on the east side of the city and there they received the dispatches which announced the assassination of the President, the murderous assault upon Secretary Seward, and the rumor of the attack upon the Vice-President. It is impossible to express the universal sorrow and the tremendous indignation which was caused by the death of Lincoln. Mingled with the popular lament, which was felt by all, regardless of politics, there

was a general feeling of apprehension as to its possible effect upon the policy of the nation. First taking his wife to Burlington, Grant returned to Washington by special train, where he found a city in mourning.

At ten o'clock on the morning of April 15th the oath of office was administered to Andrew Johnson, and thus there was inaugurated a period of civil and political disputation, happily without a parallel in the history of the country. The new President was no stranger to Grant. During the Chattanooga campaign Johnson was serving as the military governor of Tennessee and his energy and intense patriotism had won for him a large measure of deserved popularity. He was a man of positive views and had frequently run counter to the military authorities. Thus, in the spring of 1864 he had protested against appointing Sherman to command the Department of the Cumberland, saying that the people demanded Thomas. Again, three months later, he addressed a strong argument to the President in favor of retaining Granger in a command from which Grant had removed him. No one can read the correspondence of the War Department for the last year of the war without obtaining a definite conception of Andrew Johnson,—active, zealous, honest, a bitter partisan, interfering with the business of others, repeating and reiterating his wishes as peremptory commands, and yet so patriotic in his purposes and untiring in his efforts that even Stanton, who was later his bitterest opponent, spoke of him with high praise.

The untimely death of Lincoln accented the line of cleavage between the radicals and conservatives among the Unionists,—a demarcation which might have been avoided if that great master of men, who had won so completely the confidence of both groups, had survived. The horror over the assassination greatly increased the influence of the radicals and at first they thought the new president was of their way of thinking. Johnson had declared that "treason is a crime and must be made odious," and this sentiment found wide-spread acceptance among those who had loved and followed Lincoln.

The first evidence of this altered public sentiment was seen in the reception of tidings from Sherman. When Johnston learned of Lee's surrender, he at once opened negotiations with his opponent, and on April 18th Sherman signed an agreement for the suspension of hostilities and a basis for peace which involved a recognition of the Southern state governments. Sherman had no idea of the excited condition of public opinion in the North. He had just heard of the assassination, and he did not know of Lincoln's peremptory orders to Grant, forbidding him to decide or discuss any political question. When his report reached Washington, his terms were instantly disapproved and Stanton, whose zeal had turned to bitterness with the death of his beloved chief, gave to the newspapers a full account of the transaction, using terms from which many concluded that Sherman had been bribed with Confederate gold. Grant was at once ordered to notify

Sherman of the disapproval of his government and to proceed personally to North Carolina. With infinite tact he allowed Sherman to advise Johnston that the convention was disapproved, and afterward to receive the surrender of Johnston's army on the same terms as were given at Appomattox. Sherman accepted the orders of his government with military obedience; but when he received the copies of the Northern newspapers with their criticism of his conduct, his naturally fiery temper knew no bounds. Halleck had been made commander of the armies in Virginia, and had issued orders to his men to attack Johnston, regardless of Sherman. As a result when Sherman marched North with the Army of the West, he refused to meet Halleck in Richmond and warned him to keep out of the way; and at the final review of the army in Washington, he publicly refused to shake hands with Stanton, or to recognize in any way the man who had put an affront upon his honor. During this distressing episode, it was universally conceded that Grant had conducted himself with the utmost propriety,—at once loyal to the government and to his friend.

On May 23d and 24th the grand Citizen Army of the Republic was given its final review before the President and Grant,—on the first day, the Army of the Potomac, and on the second, the Army of the West. Even prior to these parades the mustering-out began. On May 4th General Taylor had surrendered in Alabama, and on May 26th General Smith surrendered the Confederate forces west of

the Mississippi. By the following November over 800,000 soldiers had been mustered out of service, resuming their normal occupations as citizens. On April 2, 1866, the President proclaimed a state of peace existing everywhere in the United States except Texas, and a few months later a second proclamation removed this exception. The great rebellion was over and the Union had been maintained.

It may fairly be stated that the next year was among the happiest of Grant's life. The great work had been well done and the nation was ready to show honor to those who had led in the doing. Although Grant had many demands upon his time and energy, for the army was still in charge of civil administration in the South, yet there was also abundant opportunity to visit the cities of the North, and travel was always welcome. In June he attended a great Fair in Chicago for the benefit of the widows and orphans of soldiers. The next month he visited Boston where he received an honorary degree from Harvard University. Oliver Wendell Holmes, writing to his friend Motley, tells of meeting Grant at the Saturday Club, where celebrities naturally foregather,—"He is one of the simplest, stillest men I ever saw. He seems torpid at first, and requires a little management to get much talk out of him. Of all the considerable personages I have seen, he appears to me the least capable of an emotion of vanity. . . . His entire sincerity and homely truthfulness of manner

and speech struck me greatly. . . . Grant has the look of a plain business man, which he is. I doubt if we have had any ideal so completely realized as that of the republican soldier in him. I cannot get over the impression he made on me."

The pleasant experiences of lionizing culminated at Galena, where the enthusiasm was unbounded. Here his neighbors presented him with a completely furnished house. After enjoying its accommodations during the summer, Grant returned again to Washington to resume the duties of his office.

The two absorbing problems of the time were Mexico and reconstruction. During the Civil War, there had been internal strife and anarchy in Mexico, and Napoleon III determined to send a French expedition to establish a stable form of government. Under this influence, the notables of Mexico offered the crown to the Archduke Maximilian, a Prince of the Hapsburg family, who was crowned Emperor of Mexico in 1864. Seward protested bitterly against the invasion of the French as an infraction of the Monroe Doctrine, but when the army and navy of the United States were engaged in Civil War, there was little opportunity to make this protest effective. The war ended, the Mexican situation became acute. Immediately after Appomattox, Grant sent Sheridan to the Rio Grande frontier, with instructions to aid Juarez, who was the Constitutionalist President of Mexico. Meanwhile Napoleon needed his soldiers at home, and at

last recognized that a continuation of his policy meant war with the United States; counting the cost as too great, he ordered his marshal, Bazaine, to withdraw. Unfortunately Maximilian yielded to the importunities of his partisans and remained in Mexico after the departure of the French soldiers. His power gradually collapsed, and in 1867 he fell into the hands of his enemies and against the protest of the United States, was executed. The failure of this last attempt to establish a European empire on American soil may safely be attributed to the military prestige of the United States which had resulted from the Civil War.

The second problem of Johnson's administration was reconstruction. There were many intricate legal and constitutional problems which now confronted the nation for the first time. Eleven states had seceded, but the principle of secession had not been recognized by the Union, and by the arbitrament of battle had been overthrown. The question then arose, what was the effect of this attempt upon statehood? Had these states lost their identity, or were they now to return to the Union with all the powers and attributes which were possessed by the other states? Moreover, was the reconstruction of the governments of the Southern states an executive act to be guided and determined by the President, or was it a question of legislation and hence under the control of Congress? These were some of the questions which must be considered before the Union could be completely restored to its normal

condition. They were problems which had never been considered by the fathers, nor adjudicated by the legal tribunals. Not until 1869 did the Supreme Court define the nature of the Union, when it declared in Texas *vs.* White that it was "an indestructible union of indestructible states," and until that time there were many who held that the Confederacy was conquered area, subject absolutely to the will of the victors.

Moreover, the future of the negro presented a most serious problem. Three and a half million bondsmen had been given freedom, but if the conditions of life were to be governed by the domestic legislation of states still under the control of the former masters, there was grave reason for doubt as to whether their second stage might not be worse than their first. Lincoln had considered all aspects of the problem and in the last stages of the war he had proposed peace on three conditions, viz., that the Union be restored, that slavery be abolished, and that the Confederate war debt be repudiated. But the bitterness of the passion aroused by his assassination had led to a violent reaction and many, who would have followed him with enthusiasm and loyalty, now criticized his proposed policy as too magnanimous. At first, the radicals claimed Johnson as their leader, but in the autumn of 1865 it was apparent that in spite of the bitter language he had used toward "traitors," the President had accepted Lincoln's policy and would insist upon a speedy reconstruction of the rebellious states.

While party lines were thus forming, Grant's sympathy was first with Johnson. Naturally magnanimous, he had seen too much of the horrors of war to desire any revenge upon his late opponents. When the question was raised as to whether Lee could be prosecuted for treason, Grant promptly declared that he was covered by the terms of the surrender at Appomattox, and that if a prosecution were attempted he would at once resign his commission and appeal to the country. The practical question to be determined was the attitude of the ex-confederates toward the negro. In the states of the Confederacy where the late masters controlled wealth, public opinion and politics, would the negro be treated fairly or was it necessary that the national government should still extend its protection over the ex-slaves?

Two interesting and opposing reports became public shortly after Congress met in December, 1865. At the request of the President, Grant made a tour of inspection of North and South Carolina and Georgia and reported, "I am satisfied that the mass of thinking men of the South accept the present situation of affairs in good faith." Not only were slavery and secession settled forever, but Grant found many who concluded that the decision was fortunate for the whole country.

On the other hand, Carl Schurz, a German by birth whose love of liberty had compelled him to flee to this country, where he had become one of the founders of the Republican party and later a dis-

tinguished military leader,—reported that while there was no danger of another insurrection against the authority of the United States, yet the rapid return to power of those who had but recently been engaged in a bitter war against the Union, had counteracted any sentiment that treason was odious, or that rebellion was criminal. Moreover the distressing economic condition of the negro hindered his proper development under his new freedom.

Upon the opening of Congress, Johnson sent a message (recently discovered to have been written by the eminent historian, George Bancroft), in which the arguments in favor of quick reconstruction were admirably summarized and in which he recommended the admittance of senators and representatives from the states of the Confederacy. But the leaders in both houses, especially Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner, were radicals and distrusted the President as a former Southern Democrat. There were many moderates who clearly recognized that the supremacy of the Republican party was possibly at stake. Under the Constitution prior to the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, representation was based upon the whole number of free persons and three-fifths of all others. Now that slavery had been abolished, the representation of the South would be much increased and yet, as none of the Southern states admitted the negro to suffrage, this representation would be out of all proportion to its true voting power. Thus the South would still have the preponderating voice

in the affairs of the nation, which had been one of the chief causes of irritation before the war.

There was additional cause for alarm in the so-called "Black Codes" which were framed by the Southern legislatures in 1865–1866, which preserved the substance of slavery while avoiding the name, and which restricted the rights of "persons of color" regarding property and employment. The first result of this legislation in Congress was the bill to extend the term and enlarge the powers of the Freedmen's Bureau. On February 19th, Johnson vetoed it in a vigorous message which had the approval of at least four members of his Cabinet, and the requisite two-thirds could not be obtained in the Senate to pass the bill over his veto. It was the only legislative triumph of his administration. Three days later a deputation of citizens called at the White House to endorse his action, and in the speech of acknowledgment the President allowed himself to become abusive and personal in referring to the radical leaders, and as a result he alienated many conservatives and increased the popular suspicion of his policy.

The rupture between the President and Congress proceeded rapidly. Both houses adopted a resolution that representatives should not be admitted from the Southern states until Congress had declared such state entitled to representation. Immediately thereafter, Congress passed the Civil Rights bill, many of the provisions of which are embodied in the Fourteenth Amendment, and when Johnson

again used his veto power, a two-thirds vote of both houses enacted the measure into law. By the summer of 1866 the tension was sharply drawn and Congress met the issue by proposing the Fourteenth Amendment, which made all persons born or naturalized in the United States, regardless of color, citizens both of the nation and of the state. Within recent years there has been a revival of interest in the problems of reconstruction and Johnson's policy has secured many eminent advocates. It is the general feeling of his partisans that if he had now accepted the Fourteenth Amendment, and had publicly advised the Southern states to ratify it as an additional condition of readmission to the Union, it would have been quickly and universally accepted as a proper basis for settlement. Certainly Tennessee, which promptly ratified the amendment, had its senators and representatives to Congress seated at once. But Johnson was not willing to recognize his defeat, and the Southern states hoped through his influence for easier terms. More and more, therefore, the President was forced into a position in which his reliance was upon the opponents of the war, and as a consequence the radical temper of the North grew stronger and more bitter.

After Congress adjourned the President visited a number of Northern cities speaking in defense of his policy. With members of his Cabinet, and Grant and Farragut under orders, he made a number of campaign speeches to large and interested audiences. Contemporary accounts differ widely as

to the nature of these addresses and their reception. For the present purpose, it is sufficient to state that Johnson returned to Washington, after the famous "swing round the circle," a discredited man and in the elections which followed the radicals strengthened their control of Congress.

When Congress reassembled, there was a widespread conviction in the North that the only way to protect the negro was to give him the right to vote. Unquestionably this sentiment had been furthered by some political leaders for the purpose of insuring the continued supremacy of the Republican party, but it was also based upon a deep fundamental resolve that the negro should be given a fair chance to protect himself. This influence was soon asserted in legislation. An act establishing universal suffrage in the District of Columbia was passed over the President's veto. The Military Reconstruction Act, which divided the ten unreconstructed states into five military districts, with army commanders to enforce peace and order, likewise became law, without the President's approval. The Tenure of Office Act, which limited the power of the President to make removals from civil offices, was also enacted. The effect of this legislation was to place the entire government of the South in the hands of the Army, and thus was inaugurated the era of the "carpet-bagger," in which the scanty resources of the exhausted Confederates were exploited for personal gain by adventurers or wasted by inexperience and extravagance.

During this controversy Grant was, by common consent, the foremost citizen of the republic. On July 25, 1866, he had been commissioned General of the Armies of the United States,—the first appointment to that office. Each faction used its best endeavors to secure his support for its policy. Never did his taciturnity serve him to better purpose. When partisans approached him, striving to commit him to their cause, he replied by discussing horses,—with him a favorite topic. Doubtless these experiences confirmed him in the aversion for politicians which is so well-voiced in Sherman's letters. When Johnson vetoed negro suffrage in the District of Columbia, Grant commended his action, but with military directness confined himself to his orders and refused to announce his views publicly. From this time there was much discussion of his name in connection with the Presidency, and both Republicans and Democrats were keen to learn into which camp he would go.

There can be little question but that Johnson was responsible for driving Grant into the radical camp. He had compelled Grant to accompany him on his political circuit, but Grant steadfastly refused to speak. Later he ordered Grant to Mexico to escort the newly appointed minister to the court of Juarez. Thinking that this mission was a part of a plan to remove him from Washington, Grant refused to go, taking the ground that he could not be expected to perform a civil mission. This might have led to a serious breach, but Sherman relieved the tension

by volunteering in the place of his friend. The climax of the whole struggle came in August, 1867, when Johnson suspended Stanton, who was the recognized radical representative in his Cabinet, and appointed Grant Secretary of War ad interim.

This appointment brought the whole controversy between the President and Congress to a head, for the radicals asserted that it was a violation of the Tenure of Office Act. There was no disposition to criticize the appointment of Grant and during the five months of his service the duties of the office were well performed. But when Congress reassembled in December, the Senate disapproved of Stanton's suspension, and Grant at once surrendered the keys of the office and vacated it. A few weeks later Johnson again removed Stanton and appointed Adjutant-General Thomas as his successor. This gave rise to the famous impeachment, which was instituted and tried in the spring of 1868, and in which by a single vote the radicals failed to convict the President.

One phase of this involved contest gave rise to a bitter dispute between Johnson and Grant on a question of veracity. Johnson said that when Grant was appointed Secretary of War, he had promised not to vacate to Stanton if the Senate refused to concur, but to submit to a civil suit in the courts which would have provided a proper test for the constitutionality of the Tenure of Office Act. The diary of Gideon Welles, who was an intense partisan of the President, illustrates the change in

attitude toward Grant as it became increasingly evident that the radicals would support his candidacy for the Presidency. Thus, on December 24, 1867,—"I am becoming impressed with the idea that Grant may prove a dangerous man. He is devoid of patriotism, is ignorant but cunning, yet greedy for office and power."

After Stanton had returned to the Secretaryship Johnson summoned Grant to a Cabinet meeting, where he was interrogated by the President as to the understanding at the time of his appointment. Grant admitted that he had promised to give the President notice before relinquishing his office; but afterward upon examining the provisions of the Tenure of Office Act, he had become convinced that this course of action would make him liable to fine and imprisonment. Furthermore, he said that he had advised the President of this conclusion, both directly and through General Sherman. A few days later one of the newspapers published an editorial attack upon Grant accusing him of equivocation and bad faith. This was afterward endorsed by four members of the Cabinet, who had been present during Grant's last interview with Johnson. Grant replied with a letter to the President in which he defended his honor as a soldier and his integrity as a man, declaring that,—"The course you would have it understood I agreed to pursue was in violation of law and without orders from you, while the course I did pursue, and which I never doubted you fully understood, was in ac-

cordance with law, and not in disobedience of any orders of my superior." The net result of the controversy was to embroil Grant in the partisan politics which he had consistently tried to avoid. Henceforth he became a bitter opponent of Johnson and an advocate of impeachment. The supporters of the President declared that Grant had made a "fool of himself," and that the radicals were using him as a "tool." "Prevarication and downright falsehood, with deception and treachery toward his chief," declared Welles, in the confidence of his diary, "mark the conduct of U. S. Grant."

Distressing as this episode must have been, it did not hurt Grant with the great mass of the people. It was generally felt that Johnson had tried to involve the popular general in his own political quarrel, and, while Grant had not shown much political acumen in avoiding the question, that he was undoubtedly honest and patriotic, and had exhibited a strong will.

While the impeachment was being tried, public meetings all over the country were indorsing Grant as a candidate for the Presidency. The radicals dominated the Republican party, and no other candidate was even considered. In October, 1867, John A. Andrew, the war-governor of Massachusetts, declared that "the tendency of the hour is toward Grant, and that is best." In May, 1868, shortly after the Senate had voted on the articles of impeachment, Grant was unanimously nominated by the Republican convention at Chicago. Schuy-

ler Colfax, who had long been Speaker of the House of Representatives, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency. The Democratic convention placed in nomination for the Presidency, Horatio Seymour of New York, and for the Vice-Presidency, Francis P. Blair of Missouri. Grant's letter of acceptance was memorable for its commendable brevity and the concluding sentence—"Let us have peace."

In the campaign which followed he took little part, spending most of his time at Galena. The Democratic platform declared for a reversal of the reconstruction policy of Congress, so that the parties were aptly characterized as "Grant and Peace" versus "Blair and Revolution." Despite the enthusiasm and energy of the Democrats, there was little doubt as to the result. The Republican ticket received the vote of twenty-six states, having 214 electoral votes, while Seymour received but 80. The popular majority was 309,584. Three of the Southern states, as yet unreconstructed, Virginia, Mississippi and Texas, did not take part in the election. Of the Southern states, Grant carried North and South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Arkansas and Tennessee.

It was not, therefore, as the leader of a faction, but as the foremost citizen of the Republic, that Grant assumed the highest office in the gift of his countrymen.

CHAPTER XIII

EIGHT YEARS AS PRESIDENT

"My own opinion is that, considering the state of the country, Grant will make the best President we can get. What we want in national politics is quiet, harmony and stability, and these are more likely with Grant than any politician I know of." So wrote Sherman in the summer of 1868. It was the expression of an opinion based upon a most intimate knowledge of the man, and a close observation of conditions in Washington, and it phrases fairly the general expectation of the country. Grant's inexperience in civil administration was conceded, but his strong will was also known; his lack of knowledge of political finesse was admitted, but his rugged patriotism had been proven. He was elected, therefore, with full information of both strength and weakness, and if his administration of the affairs of the country along some lines is censured by the judgment of history, it must at least be granted, in his favor, that he did his best, and never despaired of the future of his country.

His inauguration was characterized by one incident which showed his intense resentment of any criticism of personal integrity. Custom had prescribed that the outgoing executive and the new

President should ride together to the Capitol, but Grant refused to accompany his predecessor, or to recognize in any way either Johnson or those members of the Cabinet who had joined in the hostile statement about the Cabinet imbroglio. The inaugural address was calm and dispassionate in tone, without striking recommendations or phrases, except perhaps one sentence, which brought to mind the troubles which had just been concluded. "I shall have a policy to recommend," he said, "but none to enforce against the will of the people." The solemn oath of office was pronounced, and Grant was now confronted with a new and strange task, for which his previous training gave him no adequate preparation.

It will be convenient to treat his two administrations of the presidency as a unit, and to consider the various questions presented topically, so as to maintain the continuity of subject, even though chronological sequence be sacrificed.

There had been considerable curiosity concerning the membership in the Cabinet, which remained unsatisfied until the nominations were sent to the Senate. Grant had entered upon his new work with a profound distrust for the tactics of politicians based upon his experiences in Washington during the previous years. He had consequently advised with no one and had avoided confidences with the party leaders. It was not surprising, therefore, that he made mistakes which served to open the vials of public criticism. For Secretary of State he nomi-

nated Washburne, for many years the Congressman from his home district, to whose zealous friendship Grant owed his first opportunities for public service. This appointment was intended as a personal compliment, for Washburne was really destined for the diplomatic service and desired the preliminary appointment of the Secretaryship, to add to his prestige abroad. After a few days he resigned to serve as the Minister to France, but he utilized his brief term to make a number of personal appointments. This use of public office as a means of discharging personal or political obligations, while common at the time, reacted unfavorably upon public sentiment which had hoped for higher conceptions of efficiency.

After Washburne resigned, Grant approached James F. Wilson, and upon his declination nominated ex-Governor Hamilton Fish, of New York, a man of commanding ability and sterling character who was extremely reluctant to accept a position thus cheapened in the public mind, but who finally yielded to Grant's necessity. It was a fortunate conclusion, for the most notable success of the administration was the direct result of Fish's capacity and personality.

Alexander T. Stewart, the leading merchant of New York City, was nominated for the Treasury, and with the others, was immediately confirmed. Two days later it was discovered that under the Act of September 2, 1789, Stewart, as an importer of foreign goods, was not eligible for the post. He

offered to place his business in trust, and give the proceeds to charity during his service, and Grant recommended that a special resolution be enacted, exempting Stewart from the operation of the Act. This extraordinary procedure was not followed, although a bill was considered repealing such of the provisions of the law as made Stewart ineligible; eventually reflection brought a conviction of the inadvisability of passing an act for the benefit of an individual, and Stewart resigned. His place was filled by the appointment of George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, one of the leaders of the House, and a manager of the Johnson impeachment.

Rawlins was named as Secretary of War, and his intimate relationship with Grant justified the appointment. In the Navy, Adolph E. Borie, of Pennsylvania, a capitalist without any public experience, was appointed. John A. J. Creswell, of Maryland, was named as Postmaster-General, General Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, for the Interior, and E. Rockwood Hoar, of Massachusetts, a worthy representative of a distinguished family, as Attorney-General. The last two, with Fish, were the strong men of the Administration, which might have been spared many troubles if their services had continued until the end.

In general the Cabinet was disappointing; the difficulty in adjusting the two most important portfolios, and the preponderance of millionaires and personal friends caused much criticism, and later, the frequent changes intensified this dissatisfaction.

Moreover, the personal appointments in the household of the President were taken largely from the military staff, and this prevented confidential relations with Congressmen. In England, where the members of the Cabinet are taken from the Parliament, the views of the executive are naturally transmitted to the legislature through official channels; but in the United States, a Cabinet officer holds an administrative position purely, responsible only to his chief; and when the Cabinet is inexperienced, there is always a danger of an irresponsible "kitchen cabinet," of those who are nearest to the President.

During the eight years of Grant's administration, the seven portfolios were occupied by twenty-four men, a larger number than in any other period. In 1870, Hoar was summarily requested to resign, without the slightest dissatisfaction with his services, in order to provide room for a Southern representative. A few months later, Cox resigned, after a vain attempt to resist political pressure in the many appointments of his department. It is evident that when the average term of the members of the Cabinet was but little over two years, there was slight opportunity for familiarity with the business of the office and to determine the proper policy.[1]

[1] In Blaine's "Twenty Years of Congress," Vol. II, pp. 538–539, there is this comment on Grant's Cabinets.

> The following are the members of General Grant's Cabinet, the changes in which were in the aggregate more numerous than in the Cabinet of any of his predecessors:
>
> Secretaries of State—Elihu B. Washburne, Hamilton Fish.

While the uncertainty of tenure and the military character of the environment introduced new elements into the life of statesmen, yet their personal relations with Grant were always cordial and pleasant. With those in whom he trusted, his natural diffidence of manner disappeared, and he talked fluently and helpfully on many themes. The last survivor of the group, J. Donald Cameron, afterward for twenty years a Senator from Pennsylvania, has borne witness to the stimulus which he and his colleagues received from the President in every question which Grant's previous experience fitted him to decide, and the cordial relations of each, except Bristow, to his chief.

Hamilton Fish was soon regarded as one of the

Secretaries of the Treasury—George S. Boutwell, William A. Richardson, Benjamin H. Bristow, Lot M. Morrill.
Secretaries of War—John A. Rawlins, William N. Belknap, Alphonso Taft, James Donald Cameron.
Secretaries of the Navy—Adolph E. Borie, George M. Robeson.
Postmasters-General—John A. J. Creswell, James W. Marshall, Marshall Jewell, James N. Tyner.
Attorneys-General—E. Rockwood Hoar, Amos T. Ackerman, George H. Williams, Edwards Pierrepont, Alphonso Taft.
Secretaries of the Interior—Jacob D. Cox, Columbus Delano, Zachariah Chandler.

By this it will be seen that twenty-four Cabinet officers served under General Grant. But this number does not include Alexander T. Stewart, who though confirmed did not enter upon his duties as Secretary of the Treasury; or General Sherman, who was Secretary of War *ad interim*; or Eugene Hale, who was appointed Postmaster-General, but never entered upon service. Mr. Taft is counted only once, though he served in two Departments.

capable men of the Administration. He had served in the Legislature of his State, as Governor, as representative in Congress, and as Senator, so that he was well fitted to appreciate the point of view of both executive and legislator. The most serious problem in his department related to the claims upon England arising out of the depredations of the *Alabama* and other English-built Confederate privateers against the commerce of the United States. As soon as the Civil War had been concluded, there was a general conviction that England and France must be brought to account for their unfriendly attitude toward the North, and for having accorded to the Confederates the rights of belligerents. The general exasperation with these powers, aided by the desire to assert the Monroe Doctrine, had already led to the overthrow of Maximilian, and also to the presentation of a series of claims to the British Government. In the last months of the Johnson Administration, a treaty providing for a joint commission to consider claims was negotiated and signed by Reverdy Johnson and Lord Clarendon. But when this treaty was submitted to the Senate, it was rejected almost unanimously as wholly inadequate.

In the debate upon this proposed treaty, Sumner made a speech which was afterward published and which attracted universal attention upon both sides of the Atlantic, and in which he expressed the claim of the United States, to cover not only damages for the direct losses occasioned by these priva-

teers, but also indirect damages for the loss to the merchant marine and for doubling the duration of the war. Sumner had reached the conclusion that the proper recompense for the whole claim, which by his computation ran into an enormous sum, was Canada, and running through his addresses on this subject was the idea that Great Britain should withdraw her flag from the American Continent. These demands, however equitable in principle, were so great as to become preposterous, and the English Government refused to consider them. The troubled state of affairs in Europe, however, emphasized the advisability of settling all disputes with the United States. With the wars which characterized the readjustment of the balance of power in Europe, England had become isolated, and if involved in war, the United States could have wrecked her foreign commerce by applying the same principles and permitting the same practices as had prevailed in England during the Civil War.

This was the situation when Fish took up the matter. He early realized that it would not be possible to assert a claim which was based upon the extreme limit of Sumner's demands. In the spring of 1871, his efforts culminated in the meeting of the Joint High Commission, consisting of five representatives of each nation, to arrange a treaty to provide a mode of settlement for all differences. The work proceeded rapidly and in May the treaty was laid before the Senate. In the opening article,

regret was expressed for the escape of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports, rules governing the conduct of neutrals in time of war were prescribed and arrangements made for a tribunal of arbitration to meet at Geneva to pass upon the claims.

This treaty was a great advance upon the existing methods of determining international disputes. Not only was the principle of arbitration accepted, but the creation of a new tribunal as an international court of justice was authorized. The arbitrators were appointed by the President of the United States, Her Britannic Majesty, the King of Italy, the President of the Swiss Confederation, and the Emperor of Brazil. In its opening stages, the arbitration encountered one serious obstacle which came near to wrecking any adjustment. When the claim of the United States was presented, the indirect or national claims were included in addition to the direct losses. The representatives of England felt that it was impossible for them to proceed with an arbitration which might involve the payment of a gigantic indemnity. On the other hand, the American agents urged with equal force that they could not renounce a portion of the claim in advance of a decision. Eventually Charles Francis Adams, who was the American arbitrator, suggested that the Tribunal itself should issue a preliminary decision that the indirect claims were inadmissible. By unanimous vote this suggestion was adopted and the testimony was presented. The Tribunal awarded

the sum of $15,500,000 to be paid in gold by Great Britain to the United States for the damages caused by the *Florida*, *Alabama* and *Shenandoah*.

This conclusion of an international difficulty of grave moment was well received in both countries and added materially to the prestige of the Grant Administration. While the President had little to do with the details of negotiation, he gave his earnest support to Fish and Adams and continually encouraged the endeavor to find a peaceful solution.

The other developments in the field of international relations were not so satisfactory. Early in the administration, General Babcock, assistant private secretary to the President, went to San Domingo and, although wholly unauthorized, conducted a treaty for the annexation of the republic. When he returned Fish resented so strongly this irregular transaction that he presented his resignation as Secretary, but Grant persuaded him to withdraw it and eventually Fish became an earnest advocate of the San Domingo treaty. In the Senate, however, it met with tremendous opposition which was led by the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, Charles Sumner. Making the issue personal, Grant called on Sumner and asked for his support. Years after Grant said to James Russell Lowell, "Sumner is the only man I was ever anything but my real self to; the only man I ever tried to conciliate by artificial means." But Sumner was obdurate and when the treaty was considered in the Senate his voice led the opposition. So bitter was he in his

presentation that in March, 1871, Grant insisted upon his deposition from the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations. That this change could have been made in the conservative Senate is an apt illustration of the power of the President, but that the policy of reprisal thus inaugurated was a grave error there can be no doubt. Eventually a commission was appointed to visit San Domingo and to report upon the desirability of annexation, and, although the report was favorable, the public had become disgusted with the imbroglio and the matter was allowed to drop.

During most of this administration the Cubans were engaged in an uprising against the power of Spain. Grant desired to recognize the Rebels as belligerents, but Fish pursued a policy of neutrality. In 1873 a filibusterer, the *Virginius*, flying the American flag, was captured and a large number of the crew condemned by court-martial and shot. Fish instantly protested and the outburst of popular indignation was so great that the navy was put on a war footing. Eventually the *Virginius*, and the survivors of her passengers and crew were restored to freedom and with proper apologies on the part of the Spanish government, the affair came to an end.

During this administration the Empire of Napoleon III was overthrown and the German Empire was proclaimed at Versailles. When hostilities commenced the American ministers in both Paris and Berlin were selected to represent the combating powers. This war had a curious effect upon Ameri-

can politics, for in the campaign of 1872 an endeavor was made to divert the German vote from Grant on the ground that he had sold arms to France, and at the same time he was seriously criticized for having congratulated the first Kaiser upon the assumption of the Imperial dignity. In pro-French circles it was erroneously reported that Grant congratulated the Kaiser after each German victory. The fact is that Grant had a prejudice against Napoleon which arose out of the Mexican expedition, but in spite of this feeling there was no valid ground for attacking the neutrality of the United States.

With the award of the Geneva Arbitration, the greatest of the international problems arising out of the Civil War was satisfactorily concluded. But the domestic problems, involving the mutual relations of the conquerors and the conquered, the freedmen and their former masters, were not so quickly solved. Every great war is attended with more or less social demoralization, and the Civil War was no exception. During the crisis men developed as leaders who had not the capacity for the more difficult task of rebuilding the civic fabric. The attention of voters had been focussed upon the national government and, profiting by the relative indifference to local affairs, ambitious and unscrupulous men developed as political leaders in city and state, and organized local machines, ostensibly to help the party of their loyalty, but in reality to rob the taxpayer. Moreover, in the universality of popular satisfaction over the outcome of the

struggle, men tolerated minor abuses that in ordinary times would have led to bitter opposition and revolt. It was Grant's misfortune that his administration came in this period of disorganization and reconstruction, and the worst that can be said of him is that he was unable to control the vices of his times. To say that any other would have had greater success would be unfair and, in the measure of chances in politics, probably untrue. Without condoning the defects of his administration, it should be said in justice that not a cent of "graft" ever reached him or his immediate family, that on fundamental questions he arrived at quick and generally righteous conclusion, and that most of his mistakes proceeded from one of the finest attributes that human nature can possess,—an abiding loyalty to tested friends.

As a result of the long controversy with Johnson, congressional reconstruction had won, and in order that the states of the Confederacy should be restored to full standing as members of the Union, the consent of Congress was indispensable. In general, under the direction of the military commanders who presided in the various districts, new constitutions were formed, which accepted the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment. Then new voting constituencies were organized, from which those who had been active in the Confederacy were excluded, and the negroes were included. Thus the paramount power in the reconstructed states was given to a class absolutely without political experi-

ence, while the natural leaders of the community, many of whom were prepared to support the new order of things loyally, were excluded from control. But civic efficiency cannot be developed by legislative fiat, and as a result, many mistakes were made in establishing the reconstructed governments, and the already exhausted South paid a heavy penalty. In some states, political soldiers of fortune from the North, taking advantage of the inexperience of the negroes, established the reign of the "carpet-baggers," and waste, extravagance and "graft" ran riot. Then when the story of the sufferings of the South aroused some real sympathy in the North, there would be an outbreak of negro intimidation and terrorism, such as the depredations of the notorious Ku-Klux Klan, and the military rule would be appealed to as the only authority which could give real freedom to the negroes. It was a dark hour in the country's history, and the lesson of moderation which it teaches ought never to be forgotten.

With the legislation of his party, Grant was now in full sympathy. The Fifteenth Amendment, which prohibited any discrimination in the suffrage, on the ground of race, color or previous condition of servitude, was proclaimed in effect on March 30, 1870, and with its adoption the constitutional changes arising out of the war were concluded. Various civil rights and enforcement bills were enacted into law. But while there can be no doubt as to the patriotism and sincerity of the statesmen

who urged this legislation, it is equally true that many of those who were most vicious in keeping alive the war issues were actuated strongly by the desire to build up their own political party in the South, under the protection of the national soldiery.

The dissatisfaction with conditions in the South, together with a growing conviction as to the inefficiency of the administration, led to a great reform movement in 1872, which called itself Liberal Republican. It was not so much an opposition to Republican principles as it was opposition to the practices of the Republican party machine, with which Grant was at this time identified in the public eye.

It is not easy to be a reformer, especially when one is called upon to break with a historic party whose traditions of service and achievement have been a real asset to the nation. Many of those who were leaders among the Liberals had formerly supported Grant, and now joined the opposition with genuine regret. Especially in New England, where Sumner was still regarded as the voice of the ideals of the nation, there had developed the conviction that the administration was a failure. "Grant's surrender to the politicians was an unexpected disappointment," wrote Norton to George W. Curtis. "I think the warmest friends of Grant feel that he has failed terribly as President, not from want of honesty or desire, but from want of tact and great ignorance. It is a political position, and he knew nothing of politics and rather despised them."

Such was the statement of Curtis. "I liked Grant," wrote James Russell Lowell, "and was struck with the pathos of his face; a puzzled pathos, as of a man with a problem before him of which he does not understand the terms."

In large measure, these opinions were the outgrowth of a general conviction that the civil service needed reformation, and that all executive departments had been weakened by the unopposed aggressions of politicians, who demanded office for their followers as the reward of success. At first Grant had resisted this tendency, and in his Cabinet and office appointments he had consulted his own judgment solely as to personal fitness. He had also appointed a civil service commission, which, under the leadership of the gifted Curtis, formulated rules for competitive examinations. But the pressure soon grew overwhelming, and was greatest from his own friends, and finally the merit system was ignored, and its leading advocates in the Cabinet, Cox and Hoar, summarily dismissed. Sherman stated the conditions of the problem with his usual terseness, when in June, 1872, he wrote from Vienna:—"I feel for General Grant in his sad position. When he entered his present office I believe he intended what he said,—to administer his office according to his own best judgment,—but he soon found that he reckoned without his host, that Congress and individual senators controlled all the details of government and that if he did not concede to senators and representatives the appointing power they

would Johnsonize him. In trying to compromise this difficulty, he has more and more departed from his true course and now a few designing senators and members surround him and he cannot see beyond them. In other words,—as is the case here and in nearly all governments wielding power, influence and money,—a crowd of flatterers surround him and he cannot know the whole truth."

Moreover, it must be admitted that some of Grant's kindred and friends abused their relationship to the President. In the campaign of 1872, pamphlets were issued, charging nepotism, and containing lists of relatives, both in his own and the Dent family, who had been appointed to public office. The financial chaos of "Black Friday," the Gould-Fisk attempt to corner gold which culminated in September, 1869, was attributed to the influence of a New York speculator, who had married into the President's family. A fine sense of delicacy in public matters would probably have prevented Jesse Grant from serving as postmaster in a Kentucky town as a part of the administration of which his son was the chief. But these were evils of the time, and belonged to the period when it was believed that any one could fill a civil office, and that consequently these positions were simply personal perquisites.

The Liberal movement voiced an effective protest against the political demoralization of the times. Under the leadership of Carl Schurz, and with the support of Charles Francis Adams, Lyman Trum-

bull, Stanley Matthews and Horace Greeley, it called for a higher and sobering sense of civic responsibility, and an end of partisan bitterness. When its candidate for the Presidency, Horace Greeley, obtained also the Democratic nomination, on a platform which accepted the three constitutional amendments formulated as a result of the war, it seemed at first as if its ticket might sweep the country. But eventually, more conservative counsels prevailed. The worst of Grant's administration was known, while no one could tell what Greeley, an idealist without administrative experience, would do. "He is better than Greeley, who has no stability at all," wrote Sherman, and so the country concluded.

While recognizing the strength of the opposition, Grant never lost faith in the outcome. Writing to Washburne, one week before election, he said: "Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia and Texas will probably cast their votes for Mr. Greeley. Missouri will do the same thing. It would not if we could have a fair election throughout the state. Some counties in that state are as bad as any portion of Georgia and may lose us the electoral vote. Virginia is also a possible state for Mr. Greeley, though the chances are in our favor." Usually a candidate is the worst possible judge of his own chances of election, but in this case Grant showed a political prescience that was remarkable. In November, 1872, he carried every state, except Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Texas and

Missouri, and received a majority of the popular vote of three-quarters of a million. Greeley, overwhelmed by the death of his wife and crushed by a defeat which to him was unexpected, was unable to rally from the blow, and died before the electoral college assembled.

The second term commenced with general goodwill. In his inaugural, Grant referred to the campaign with unusual feeling: "Throughout the war and from my candidacy for my present office in 1868 to the close of the presidential campaign, I have been the subject of abuse and slander scarcely ever equaled in political history, which to-day I feel that I can afford to disregard in view of your verdict, which I gratefully accept as my vindication."

The new administration was soon confronted with financial problems of unusual seriousness. The war had exhausted capital, and had resulted in an inflated style of living. In October, 1871, the most disastrous fire in the history of the nation, thus far, destroyed a large section of the city of Chicago, and in the next year, over sixty-five acres were burnt out in Boston. While these conflagrations caused much local suffering, and a heavy strain on insurance companies, yet it was not until 1873, when the great banking house of Jay Cooke closed its doors, that the financial situation became acute. The immediate occasion of this failure was the too rapid absorption of capital into railroad-building, and the result was the panic of 1873, during which the mercantile failures were over three-quarters of a billion.

When Congress assembled, there were many measures suggested for relief, but the most popular was the reissuance of greenbacks, so as to inflate the currency, and thus make it easier for the debtor to settle with his creditors. Eventually a measure was passed, which authorized an increase in the greenbacks to $400,000,000. As the leaders of the party supported the bill, and as the increase was but slight, it was confidently assumed that Grant would sign it. But after much consideration, during which the President wrote a message approving the bill and then, finding the argument inconclusive, destroyed it, he decided to veto the bill as "a departure from the true principles of finance." "The veto was a brave and noble act," says the historian of the period, James Ford Rhodes, and Grant's determination, based on his own independent thought, was the most notable act of the second administration.

The last years of his service as President mark the lowest ebb ever reached in the political morale of the country. The "salary grab," whereby Congress gave to its members an increase in salary which was dated back to the beginning of the session, so as to include those who voted on the measure; the Credit Mobilier scandal, wherein some of the leading congressmen were found to have accepted stock in an enterprise which was receiving land-grants from the government; the Whisky Ring, which centered at St. Louis, and involved a number of prominent officials, including a secretary

to the President, in an attempt to evade the internal revenue tax; the Sanborn contracts, whereby a henchman of Benjamin F. Butler undertook to collect outstanding taxes due the government, for which he was to receive one-half; the Belknap scandal, whereby the Secretary of War was shown to have received indirectly payments from a post-trader, in exchange for the appointment,—these malodorous affairs aroused a universal protest, and a desire for better things. When "graft" has been exposed, the era of improvement is near, and if the discredit of these abuses of public office attaches to Grant, let it be also remembered that the exposure came also in his time.[1]

The election of 1876 was fought on the reform

[1] Perhaps the most vivid statement of the demoralization of the times is to be found in the Democratic platform for 1876, as follows:

"When the annals of this republic show the disgrace and censure of a Vice-President; a late Speaker of the House of Representatives marketing his rulings as a presiding officer; three senators profiting secretly by their votes as lawmakers; five chairmen of the leading committees of the late House of Representatives exposed in jobbery; a late Secretary of the Treasury forcing balances in the public accounts; a late Attorney-General misappropriating public funds; a Secretary of the Navy enriched and enriching friends by percentages levied off the profits of contractors with his department; an ambassador to England censurable in a dishonorable speculation; the President's private secretary barely escaping conviction on trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue; a Secretary of War impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors—the demonstration is complete that the first step in reform must be the people's choice of honest men from another party, lest the disease of the political organization infect the body politic, and lest by making no change of men or parties we get no change of measures and no real reform."

issue. The Republicans, while at first there was some desire again to renominate Grant, deferred to the national sentiment against a third term, and nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, a general of the war who had been elected Governor of Ohio on a sound money platform. The Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden, an eminent lawyer, who, as Governor of New York, had led in the overthrow of the Tweed Ring. The election was exceedingly close, and when the first returns were in, it was evident that Tilden had a majority of the popular vote and would receive at least 184 electoral votes. From South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana and Oregon there were two sets of returns and if those for Hayes should be counted, it would give him 185 electoral votes and the election!

The bitterness of this contest tested the political institutions of the country at an entirely new point. No such question had ever been presented to the "Fathers," and to add to the uncertainty, Congress was divided, the House being Democratic as a result of the election of 1874. Many opposing theories of procedure were suggested. Some argued that the President of the Senate, who was the chairman of the joint meeting of Congress when the votes were counted, could accept which ever certificates he pleased. Others argued that the House should decide which certificates should be accepted for the Presidency, and the Senate should decide similarly for the Vice-Presidency. Eventually the suggestion of an Electoral Commission to consist of five

Senators, five Representatives and five Justices of the Supreme Court, to sit as a judicial tribunal and to pass on disputed certificates, was agreed upon. When finally created, the Commission consisted of three Republicans and two Democrats from the Senate, two Republicans and three Democrats from the House, the four Senior Justices of the Supreme Court, who were equally divided in party loyalty, and Justice Bradley, who was the junior on the bench. When the Commission held its sessions, Bradley voted with the Republicans, and by his casting vote, the electoral votes for Hayes were accepted, and his election announced.

While this bitter controversy was waging, many idle threats were made on both sides. Some democratic partisans preached civil war rather than submission, and there can be no doubt but that Grant's influence counted for peace and restraint. In issuing his instructions to the army for the maintenance of order while the count was being made, he declared: "No man worthy of the office of President should be willing to hold it if counted in or placed there by fraud. Either party can afford to be disappointed in the result. The country cannot afford to have the result tainted by the suspicion of illegal or false returns." This was a righteous attitude, and met with strong endorsement all over the Union, and when the radicals threatened to appeal to force, there was a general satisfaction with the assurance that the presence of a strong man in the White House, who knew the power of his

office and had the strength to use it, was the best possible guarantee that the decision of the Electoral Commission would be accepted.

His patriotic attitude during this crisis led to a revival of personal enthusiasm for Grant, and when he retired from the Presidency, while there was a record of some failures, yet there was no doubt of his sure place in the affections of his countrymen.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CLOSING YEARS

"WHAT should be done with our ex-Presidents" is a current American problem, more academic than real, for the ex-Presidents settle the question, each according to his own tastes. For some months before his retirement from the White House, Grant had formed his plan for the famous world-trip, and fortunately the means had become available. After sixteen years of public service, filled with unusual demands and responsibilities, part of the time as head of the army, and for half of the period as head of the nation, Grant had won a vacation, and it was but natural that his boyish ambition for travel should return. But travel was expensive, and when the official salary ceased, Grant had left an income of but six thousand dollars per year. This was less than his independent income in 1868, for the expenses of maintaining his family, and especially the cost of entertaining in the White House, had cut into his principal to the extent of over twenty-five thousand dollars. Fortunately, the generosity of a friend made the vacation possible. A millionaire of Galena, learning of Grant's plans, sent him a check for fifty thousand dollars to be used in the trip around the world, and the total cost

was defrayed from this generous gift and his regular income for the two years.

On May 17, 1877, General and Mrs. Grant, and their youngest son, Jesse, sailed from Philadelphia for Liverpool on the *Indiana*. During part of their travels they were accompanied by Mr. Borie, who had served in Grant's Cabinet, and later by John Russell Young, who became the historian of the pilgrimage.

In the courts of Europe it was not easy at first to determine the nature of the welcome to be given to the distinguished visitor. He was not a member of any royal family, except in the sense in which an equal dignity could be claimed for all of his countrymen. He was not a ruler, for absolutely all authority had been laid aside. There was no precedent available as a guide. The American government notified its ministers to prepare a proper welcome for Grant and his party, and eventually his reception became a popular and personal tribute to the great general whose leadership had preserved the nation and had won for him acceptation as its representative man.

Upon landing at Liverpool, he was presented with the freedom of the city, and here, as at Manchester, he was made the guest of the city. In London he was the guest of honor at the Guildhall banquet; he dined with the Prince of Wales at Marlborough House, and was entertained by the Queen in a private party at Windsor Castle. In every part of Great Britain, and from every class, he received

the same welcome; at New Castle 80,000 miners gave him a welcome, and in each of several industrial cities of the North the experience was repeated. In this gracious and sympathetic atmosphere Grant developed a facility for public speech, which was new to him, and a genuine surprise to his friends. At the banquets and receptions he was always called upon for a few remarks, and, overcoming his natural aversion, he soon discovered that he could make a very forceful and concise speech. Generally selecting as his topic the advantages of peace, or international good-will, or the importance of some line of trade or industry, he made an excellent impression for sincerity and good sense.

Without following the details of the trip, he visited Brussels, the Rhine Valley and Switzerland, Paris and the Mediterranean, Egypt, the Holy Land, Constantinople, Athens, Italy, Holland and Berlin, where he was specially entertained by Bismarck; Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Austria, Southern France, Spain, Portugal and Ireland. After having seen every state in Europe, he took boat for India, and later made interesting visits to India, Burmah, Siam, China and Japan. In each of these countries the welcome given him was real and sincere, and was voiced by its leading men. The Oriental reserve of Li Hung Chang broke down in his joy at meeting a distinguished brother-in-arms, who, like himself, had won fame in the suppression of a rebellion. Even the traditional etiquette of the court of Japan was modified to give a

welcome to the stranger, when the Mikado, for the first time in history, shook hands with his guest. It was with many personal experiences of cordiality and courtesy, and most pleasant memories of what had been said and done to make him welcome, that Grant finally crossed the Pacific in 1879, after an absence of twenty-eight months.

Foreign travel is always a liberal education to any thinking man, and Grant was still at the stage in his career when he could appreciate new ideas. His service in military and civil administration had given him an interest in political and industrial life, and his travels now afforded him an opportunity to see how the older civilizations were meeting problems which were also urgent at home. It was curious, but characteristic, that military reviews bored him, although military discussions, even of seemingly trivial matters of organization, did not. Anything connected with the life of the people appealed to him most strongly. He returned to America, therefore, with a personal acquaintance with the leaders in the life of the world, and an insight into their work, which probably no other American of his time, and but few since, could equal.

In September, 1879, Grant landed at San Francisco, where, twenty-five years before, he had been stranded upon his retirement from the army. The enthusiasm of his welcome was convincing proof of the devotion of his countrymen. His return to the eastern coast was like a triumphal march, and as each state voiced its welcome to the nation's hero,

thoughts of additional public service came into mind. Certainly, at fifty-seven, no one could feel that his career was closed. An old age of inactivity was exceedingly repugnant to him. His income was but slight, and necessity required that something should be done to supplement it. In the environing circumstances of life, therefore, are contained the germs of the idea of a third candidacy for the Presidency.

At this time, the dominant leaders of the Republican party were Blaine, and the Senatorial triumvirate—Conkling of New York, Cameron of Pennsylvania and Logan of Illinois. Hayes's administration, while quietly capable, had achieved no especially dramatic success and the politicians were disappointed in the independence of the man. By his own act of self-abnegation, Hayes had limited his service to a single term, and as the next election became imminent, there was much speculation as to a successor. For several years Blaine had been a leading candidate, and at first it looked like an easy victory. But presently Conkling and his associates determined to bring out Grant again, convinced that with the added prestige of his transatlantic honors, with such a candidate, the party, in Conkling's picturesque phrase, could "grandly win." There can be no question but that this determination had been reached by many prominent leaders long before there had been any authoritative communication with Grant. While many of his advocates belonged to the stalwart wing of the party, and had received

the benefits of patronage during his administrations, yet it is clear that another reason had operated to bring others to the same conclusion. The state elections since 1876 indicated that public sentiment in the South had consolidated in favor of the Democratic party. In presidential elections, the "Solid South," as it was called, began with 1880. Many far-sighted Republicans dreaded the permanent alienation of a large section of the country from their party, and they now turned to Grant as the one candidate who might succeed in the South.

For several months Grant maintained an absolute silence on the subject of his candidacy. His wife and closest friends were known to be enthusiastic in their desire for the third term, and there can be little question but that Grant himself wished for another opportunity to use his wider knowledge for the advancement of the nation. Writing to Washburne, February 2, 1880, he said: "All that I want is that the government rule should remain in the hands of those who saved the Union until all the questions growing out of the war are forever settled. I would much rather any one of ten I could mention should be President rather than that I should have it." But the next month he wrote,—"I owe so much to the Union men of the country that if they think my chances are better for election than for other probable candidates in case I should decline, I cannot decline if the nomination is tendered without seeking on my part."

In 1876, when there had been some suggestion of

a third term, the House of Representatives had adopted a resolution declaring against the reëlection of a President at the conclusion of his second term. While much of the opposition to the third term idea lost its force with an intervening term for some other man, yet the suggestion caused a storm of bitter criticism wholly apart from the personality of the candidate. Pamphlets and partisan screeds were published on both sides of the question; Grant was accused of endeavoring to establish imperial institutions, and odd parallels were drawn between his career and that of Napoleon, whom he despised! Eventually, when the convention met at Chicago, Grant sent a letter to Cameron, who was then chairman of the national committee, directing the withdrawal of his name. But Cameron showed it to Conkling, and that trusted leader persuaded Grant to withdraw the letter, and thus to enter the fight.

The Chicago convention of 1880 was the most exciting in the history of the party, until the split in 1912. Grant had a plurality of delegates, but no majority. Superbly courageous, Conkling fought his battle, with a following which during thirty-five ballots never was less than 304 votes, and on the thirty-sixth ballot, when Garfield received 399 votes and nomination, there were still 306 who followed Conkling in his hopeless fight. In the campaign which followed, at first Democratic success seemed assured, for the line of cleavage in the opposition had been too pronounced. Toward the close of the

campaign, Grant was persuaded to speak for Garfield at one meeting, and this drew Conkling into the field. Eventually, Garfield won New York state and the election, although his opponent, Hancock, carried the Solid South![1]

With the final overthrow of his political possibilities, Grant determined upon a residence in New York city. His second son, Ulysses, lived there, and during the world-trip he had become the man of business of the family, supervising investments, and watching over the returns. Moreover, New York had always been hospitable to the Grants. Many of the General's warmest friends resided there, and its leaders had been loyal to his ambitions. But with a residence in the metropolis, some considerable addition to his income was necessary, if a dignified standard of living was to be maintained. Several propositions were suggested, but the one eventually accepted, which brought the crowning sorrow into old age, came from Ferdinand Ward.

Ward was a broker of some standing. Through his brother, he had become acquainted with Grant's son, Ulysses, who eventually entered into speculations with him. These enterprises proving successful, Ward now suggested the organization of a new banking firm, in which General Grant and J. D. Fish, then president of the Marine National Bank,

[1] The opposing attitude was expressed forcefully in a letter of Goldwin Smith: "The nomination of Garfield against Grant was a decisive victory of the better and purer part of the Republican party over that which had been debauched by twenty years of office." See "Correspondence of Goldwin Smith," p. 92.

should be special partners. For years the firm of Grant and Ward enjoyed excellent repute with the general public. One name contributed prestige, while the other was that of a so-called "Napoleon of finance." Practically all of Grant's capital, amounting to $100,000, was placed in the firm as his contribution; and in return, he drew out generally three thousand dollars per month as his share of the profits. Obviously there was something disproportionate between the investment and the return, yet Grant, who in financial matters was as simple-minded as a child, accepted these excessive profits without doubt or hesitation. Nor was he the only one to be deceived. It was a period of inflation, following the panic of 1873–1877, when every one was making money, and many of the shrewdest were misled by Ward's optimistic reports.

Meanwhile, the end was near at hand. Ward had always represented to Grant that the firm did not deal in government contracts, but that its money was made by advancing to contractors what they needed to start their work. The Marine National Bank was their fiscal agent, and so successful had been the firm that after three years it had an ostensible balance of over $600,000 at the bank, and a capital of over $15,000,000. But while Grant and his son were absolutely unsuspicious of any wrong-doing, Ward had been engaged in a series of speculations which could no longer be maintained. From the beginning of his career as a financier he had secured deposits for syndicates, speculated with the

funds, declared and paid large imaginary profits out of capital, so as to secure greater deposits for the next syndicate, and so on, until at last the bubble broke. Cupidity and the hope of large returns had led many people to patronize him, and the prestige of Grant's name had convinced the skeptics that the business was honestly conducted.

One Sunday in May, 1884, Ward suddenly appeared at Grant's home and told the General that the Marine National Bank was tottering, because of an unexpected call for a large city deposit, and that if the bank closed its doors, it might temporarily embarrass their firm. After much urging, Grant agreed to attempt to borrow $150,000, and calling on William H. Vanderbilt, he at once received the money, but as a personal loan. A few days later, the world was startled with the news of the failure of the Marine National Bank, and the insolvency of Grant and Ward, carrying with it the private fortunes of almost every member of the Grant family. With the failure came a series of legal inquiries, which disclosed the methods which Ward had used to perpetrate and maintain a gigantic series of frauds. Then came criticism, stern and bitter, directed against all who had taken part in the swindle, and especially against General Grant, whose reputation for integrity had been a chief reason why many had deposited with the firm. An effort was made to hold Grant personally liable to all creditors, as a general partner of the firm. This

failed, as legally it was bound to fail, but all of the Grant fortune was swept away nevertheless.

Walter Johnston, who was appointed receiver of the Marine Bank, has written his memories of these days, as follows:

"Grant and Ward began business with an office in the building owned by the First National Bank, corner of Wall and Broadway. Ward began a colossal scheme of fraud. He induced wealthy people to subscribe to so-called government contracts on the dead quiet, owing, he said, to Grant's connection with the firm. Army and navy supplies of hay, clothes, coal, etc., the contracts for which had been allotted to him by the government, he whispered, and on which there were huge profits. It is surprising how it succeeded.

"In forming the firm he had induced the president of the Marine National Bank of New York City, James D. Fish, to join in the firm in order to secure the use of the bank in floating these schemes. The modus operandi was to get, say, $500,000 subscribed and paid in to the Marine Bank, and then in thirty, or sixty, or ninety days, pay the subscribers back their principal and interest, and share of the profit amounting to say twenty per cent. on their subscription, but immediately to induce them to reinvest the whole amount, and double up, on another contract for coal, or something else, which everybody with the agreeable experience of getting back profits so easily would jump at. And so it went on, with a growing overdraft in the Marine Bank up to $750,000, with the purpose on his part of absconding some day with a great sum, until one day the strain in the bank became impossible to stand any longer, and down it broke, and knocked his whole plan into a cocked hat.

"One of the parties, who had drawn heavily on him and then reinvested heavily, got suspicious, and after a constant pull on him to demonstrate his ability to pay, it broke him and left him flat on his back, a disgraced man.

"In his extremity before failure, he visited General Grant at his house, and told him that $150,000 would save the house. Poor Grant called on Mr. Vanderbilt and took with him the only collateral he had, to wit: the trophies presented to him in Europe on his travels, and asked Vanderbilt to loan him the money, which he did, and of course lost every cent of it, which broke Grant's heart. Vanderbilt refused the collateral.

"I had Ward taken out of jail, where he had been placed in a suit, to come to my office and make up schedules of the whole business, so that my counsel could decide in what quarter to sue. He was entirely willing, being hopelessly broken in spirit. While he was at work at that job, the trial of James D. Fish, the ex-president of the bank, was on in the United States Court here. Fish had exhibited to the court a copy of a letter he had sent to General Grant asking him to reassure him as to these contracts, inasmuch as the loans at the bank were growing so heavy that he was alarmed. When Ward came down to his office next morning, he was handed this letter. He opened it and read it, and seeing what a deadly effect it would have if there was no answer, he dictated a reply in type, and took it up the stairs to General Grant's office, where he was acting president of a Mexican Railway Company, and inserted it in a bunch of the General's correspondence, which according to his custom as President and General of the Army was awaiting his signature about four o'clock in the afternoon, when he always took the boat to his cottage at Long

Branch. His secretary would hand him those accumulated letters one by one for signature, blotting the signature for him, and being of a nature that was merely perfunctory official business, the General would not read them unless his attention was called to any one of them by the secretary. Ward came up when the General had gone, and took his letter out, which announced to Fish that the contracts were all right, and himself mailed it to Mr. Fish.

"All this he confessed to me the same day that the Fish letter was read in court. It nearly cleared Fish. The jury were out six hours, but they finally indicted him on false statements in the reports to the Comptroller of the Currency, in which they carried these enormous losses in the name of the colored porter and other employees. In this case the court adjourned for an hour to have General Grant's deposition taken, as he was lying in bed with the cancer that later he died of. Elihu Root, who was the district attorney, gave to the General the letter from Fish. He read it and said in his low voice, 'I don't understand this, Mr. Root, I never received this letter.' Then he presented him with the answer signed by him. He read it over and said, 'Mr. Root, that is my signature, but I never wrote or dictated that letter.' The lawyers for Mr. Fish joined with Mr. Root in assuring General Grant that the whole thing was a fraud on him and that he should not allow it to worry him any, but that it was necessary to take his testimony both for his own sake and Mr. Fish's. Ward was sent to the penitentiary for ten years, and Fish for the same, but after two years I addressed a letter to the President of the United States telling him the whole story and he was pardoned."

It was intensely humiliating to the old soldier to

learn that he had been the decoy of a sharper. It was very bitter to reflect that not only was his own fortune swept away, but also the savings of those who had trusted him. "Financially, the Grant family is ruined for the present, and by the most stupendous frauds ever perpetrated," he wrote to his sister, at the same time sending a message to "Aunt Jennie," whose fortune had been lost in the crash, that she should always have a home with him. But for a time absolute privation threatened. When the failure came, Grant and his wife had but a few hundreds in cash, and as a separate income for Mrs. Grant, purchased by some friends, stopped at this time because of a default in bond interest, the harassed family was in great distress. Fortunately, there were still friends. One gentleman sent him a check for one thousand dollars, as an indefinite loan, on account of services rendered "prior to 1865." The Mexican Ambassador insisted upon the acceptance of a like amount. With this generous aid, the crisis was tided over, until some houses in Washington, belonging to Mrs. Grant, could be sold.

One thing hung heavily on the General's conscience. William H. Vanderbilt had made a personal loan to him, and Grant insisted that this debt should be discharged. All of his property at St. Louis and Chicago was deeded to Mr. Vanderbilt, and eventually all of his personal property, including the unique collection of gifts, souvenirs, swords, etc., collected during the trip around the world.

Mr. Vanderbilt insisted upon returning this collection to Mrs. Grant, but the General refused, and eventually, with the consent of both, it became the property of the nation.

While Grant was thus facing ruin, and the anguish which came from bitter criticism, he was also engaged in the opening skirmish of the last battle of his life. On Christmas, 1883, he had fallen on the ice, and there had been a rupture of a muscle in the thigh. He was slow in recovering, and for months he could walk only with the aid of crutches. When the failure came, he was still far from well, although able to travel around the city. When the first storm of criticism had passed, Grant began to consider the necessity of earning a livelihood, so as to at least accumulate a competence for his wife. It is again one of the unique contrasts of life that this man, who had held most exalted positions, and had so recently been received on terms of equality by the sovereigns of Europe and Asia, was now to become a bread-winner. Fortunately, there was available a line of work for which he had a special, although undiscovered, talent, and in which his peculiar knowledge was needed by the world.

Many publishers had endeavored to persuade Grant to write out his memories of the war, but the pressure of other things and a failure to recognize his ability for the work had led him to refuse. In the days of his prosperity, he had written but one magazine article, in advocacy of a re-hearing in the case of General FitzJohn Porter. But when

money was needed, the idea of writing assumed a more favorable aspect. Two articles, on Shiloh and Vicksburg, were written for the *Century Magazine*, and their reception, as evidenced by a substantial check from the publisher, far in excess of the amount of their agreement, was strong evidence that the public would welcome a complete account of Grant's experiences. Finally, Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain), who was then a member of the publishing firm of Charles L. Webster & Company, secured his signature to a contract, and the great work began.

It was a race with death. In the autumn of 1884, an affection of the throat developed, which was soon pronounced to be cancer. During the winter the pain and suffering were intense, but realizing that this was a final chance to provide for those whom he loved, the General proceeded with the work of dictation. In March, 1885, the heart of the dying veteran was gladdened by the action of Congress in restoring him to his rank and salary as a retired General of the Army. This removed the immediate dread of want, but his desire to finish the "Memoirs" was intense. When, in April, it seemed as if he were dying, he was still able to say: "I want to live and finish my book." With the same grim determination as at Vicksburg and Petersburg, he fought his last fight with the eternal foe and won!

Dictating when he could, writing with his tablet when speech was impossible, he pushed his work to

the end, and in the late spring the "Memoirs" were finished. Meanwhile, the sympathy and affectionate regard of the nation were expressed at the bedside of the dying soldier. Visitors came from far and near, especially army officers, both Union and Confederate. Once more he was the hero of the nation, and in the memory of what he had wrought, the recent bitterness passed away.

When the warmer weather of the spring came, he and his family accepted a generous offer to occupy the Drexel cottage at Mount McGregor, and on June 16th he was removed to this beautiful home. But now his work was done, and the suffering was very great. Night after night of sleepless agony passed. Occasionally some message would come from the sick-room which would electrify the country, as when Grant wrote on his conversational pad for Buckner, his old army friend, "I have witnessed since my illness just what I have wished to see since the war,—harmony and good-will between the sections."

It was in the early morning of July 23, 1885, that the spirit took its flight.

After his death a paper was found pinned to his robe, which contained these final words for his wife and children :

"Look after our dear children and direct them in the paths of rectitude. It would distress me far more to think that one of them could depart from an honorable, upright and virtuous life than it would to know that they were prostrated on a bed

of sickness from which they were never to arise alive. They have never given us any cause for alarm on their account, and I earnestly pray they never will.

"With these few injunctions and the knowledge I have of your love and affection, and of the dutiful affection of all our children, I bid you a final farewell until we meet in another and, I trust, a better world. You will find this on my person after my demise.

"*Mt. McGregor, July 9, 1885.*"

CHAPTER XV

GRANT—THE MAN

It is difficult to sum up briefly the essential characteristics of a man who has touched life on many sides, and has aroused personal enthusiasm and partisan bitterness. The generation who knew Grant intimately could not agree concerning him, and those whose knowledge is derived from secondary sources cannot hope to escape like differences in opinion. But whatever disputes there may be concerning his generalship, his administrative capacity and his habits, there are certain large notes of personal character concerning which all testimony points to fixed and definite conclusions. Among these notes may be mentioned the purity of his speech and life, his devotion to the wife and the home-circle, the simplicity of his bearing and his dogged determination along fundamental lines.

Living in an age when men gave free scope to their elemental passions, Grant stands unique in his singular self-control. His army associates, at a time when profanity was glossed over as the natural expression of strong passion, commented freely upon the absence of oaths in his speech. Charles A. Dana has recorded his impression of this side of Grant's character :

"Late in the evening I left Hard Times with Grant to ride across the peninsula to DeShroon's. The night was pitch dark, and, as we rode side by side, Grant's horse suddenly gave a nasty stumble. I expected to see the General go over the animal's head, and I watched intently, not to see if he was hurt, but if he would show any anger. I had been with Grant daily now for three weeks, and I had never seen him ruffled nor heard him swear. His equanimity was becoming a curious spectacle to me. When I saw his horse lunge my first thought was, 'Now he will swear.' For an instant his moral status was on trial, but Grant was a tenacious horseman, and instead of going over the animal's head, as I imagined he would, he kept his seat. Pulling up his horse, he rode on, and, to my utter amazement, without a word or sign of impatience. And it is a fact that though I was with Grant during the most trying campaigns of the war, I never heard him use an oath."

Nor was this self-control due merely to impassiveness, but rather to an innate fineness of feeling which resented anything vulgar or unclean. The traditional story will be recalled of the dinner-table, where one of the guests prefaced a salacious story with the common introduction, "Now, as there are no ladies present,"—when he was interrupted by Grant's instant and effective comment,—"No, but there are gentlemen!"

This high appreciation of clean life and speech was based upon the strength of the teachings of his

early boyhood, but it was undoubtedly increased by the charm and simplicity of his home-life. His marriage was very happy, in the days of privation as well as in the later years of prosperity, and no man responded more completely to the joys of domestic life. During his military career, his letters to his wife written in camp and on the battle-field, many of which have never been published, show a tenderness of feeling surprising in a man who seemed as stolid as Grant. "Tell me all about the children," he writes after Donelson. "I want to see rascal Jess already." "Give my love to all at home," he writes to his wife on the eve of Shiloh. "Kiss the children for me." Just before Missionary Ridge, when the care of the Army of the Cumberland bore hard, he wrote to an old friend at St. Louis: "I was very glad to hear from my children. I have ordered Fred and Buck to write to me often, but they don't do it. If you see them again tell them they must write to me every week."[1]

These home letters, written not for publication, show the real man, and no one can understand his essential qualities who fails to recognize that here was a clean-minded, home-loving American. Moreover, his affection for his wife was so marked that it made their relationship almost ideal. There is real romance in the beautiful story of the wife of General Pickett, who made the Grants a visit in the White House, and was present at a discussion of a prospective surgical operation to remove a slight

[1] From the collection of Louis J. Kolb, of Philadelphia.

obliquity in Mrs. Grant's eyes. When the operation had been almost decided upon, Grant suddenly protested,—"I don't want to have your eyes fooled with. They are all right as they are. They are the same eyes I looked into when I fell in love with you!"

But even his affections became a source of weakness in the Presidency, when scheming and ambitious men, who could not have approached him directly, made use of his kinsmen as a means of communication. Moreover, not all in the large circle of Grant's family were equally worthy of confidence, and some showed indeed a sad lack of propriety in using his position and prestige as a medium for personal advancement and gain. To the end of his days, his loyalty responded instantly to the call of affection, and some of his greatest errors of judgment are to be attributed to this trait. When he was President, some members of Congress called on him to suggest the removal of a cabinet officer who was under investigation. When the purpose of the deputation had been stated, Grant replied, "The true test of friendship after all isn't to stand by a man when he is in the right; any one will do that; but the true test is to stand by him when he is in the wrong." And that test he accepted and fulfilled.

Sheridan once remarked to Don Cameron: "This is a queer world. The less any one knows of anything, the more he thinks he knows. Now take Grant, he does not know a thing about finances, but

believes that he knows it all." Once a member of the Cabinet called at the White House, and found Grant pasting internal revenue stamps in his wife's check-book. The visitor called attention to the fact that the checks were already stamped in the printing. Whereupon the President naively confessed that he had been pasting stamps on the checks for over a year!

Again Sheridan said: "Grant is a wonderful fellow about his children. He thinks Fred is a devil of a fine fellow and that Buck knows twice as much as Fred and that Jesse knows more than both together." In the home, Grant was a loving and almost an indulgent father. His partiality for children made him a great favorite with the group of youngsters who played in the White House during his Presidency. At the second inaugural he brought joy to the heart of an eight-year-old boy by inviting him to sit in front of the President's carriage upon the return from the Capitol. When Mrs. Pickett brought her children to the White House on a visit and was afraid that the crying of the baby would disturb her host, Grant at once reassured her and placing his stick in the child's hand and his silk hat on its head, remarked, "Now tell them that you will do as you please and that the whole place belongs to you."

In personal intercourse there is much contradiction in testimony as to his habits of speech. Prior to the war his intimates recall him as a most interesting conversationalist, especially on topics that

related to his own experiences. But during the war he became popularly known as reserved, taciturn and silent, and this characteristic developed also during the period of the Presidency. It is highly probable that this restraint was unnatural to Grant, and was the result of the watch he was forced to place upon his words, at a time when a careless phrase might have resulted in public misconception and disaster. Among his staff or with intimate friends, Grant conversed readily and on a wide variety of topics. He was not a raconteur but sometimes he told a story with excellent effect. General Horace Porter has recorded an episode of the Petersburg campaign. The staff was discussing some rumors which were evident exaggerations, and in the chat Grant told a story of an officer who had such a propensity for lying that he frequently made himself absurd. In trying to amend he asked a friend to touch his foot under the table if he ever seemed to exaggerate. During the dinner some one mentioned the tendency to build larger hotels every year, and the amateur Munchausen broke into the conversation by describing the hotel which his father had built, bigger than any one had ever attempted since. "Two hundred ninety-six feet high, five hundred eighty feet long, and "—here his friend kicked him under the table and the officer concluded, in a subdued tone of voice, "five and one-half feet wide."

In the list of anecdotes, mention should be made of Grant's well-known comment on Sumner. At

the height of the controversy between them with reference to San Domingo, some one remarked to Grant that Sumner did not believe in the Bible. "Of course not," replied Grant; "he didn't write it!"

With a strong interest in reading, Grant had little development of the æsthetic senses. Poetry and literary criticism did not interest him, and he was singularly deaf to the charm of music. He once remarked to Robert C. Winthrop of Boston,—"I only know two tunes, one is Yankee Doodle and the other isn't!"

No one ever heard Grant scoff at religion, and yet he did not formally join church until three months before his death. It may be that the circumstances of pioneer life did not give opportunity for a regular church membership, and it is certain that afterward Grant was temperamentally less interested in the outward signs of membership than in the conditions of inward grace. When he was baptized in April, 1885, he said to Bishop John P. Newman, whose church he had attended for many years in Washington, "I believe in the Holy Scriptures. Whoso lives by them will be benefited thereby." At the same time, when a sinking spell had almost ended his life, Newman asked him,—"What was the supreme thought in your mind when eternity seemed so near?" To which the dying General responded,—"The comfort of the consciousness that I have tried to live a good and honorable life." A member of the family circle quotes Grant as having

once remarked, "I often prayed silently to God at night and during the day that He might aid me in the performance of my duties." Once he attended a communion service at Dr. Newman's church in Washington, in company with Schuyler Colfax; during the service Grant requested Colfax to accompany him to the communion, but the latter refused, and so Grant too stayed away.

In his dealings with others, Grant was most scrupulous of the truth. "Tediously truthful" he was called by one of his staff officers. At the White House an attendant one day brought him the card of a visitor when he was very busy. "Shall I tell the gentleman you are not in?" asked the usher. "No," replied the President, "you will say nothing of the kind. I don't lie myself, and I won't have any one lie for me."

When Alexander H. Stephens visited the camp of the Army of the Potomac, he was much impressed by Grant's kindliness of manner to his subordinates, and his constant use of "please" in his directions. General Wilson has commented on the same trait, saying: "Without being effusive, he was altogether the most thoughtful and considerate general with whom I ever served." In the entire course of the war, only two outbursts of anger have been recorded. The first occurred in the Iuka campaign, when Grant found a straggler who had assaulted a woman. Seizing a musket in sudden rage he struck the culprit over the head, sending him to the ground. Again, in the Virginia campaign, he

broke out in vehement denunciation of a teamster whom he had seen abusing a horse.

The Civil War was scarcely concluded before there was ushered in an interminable strife among military critics as to the merit of the various operations. Grant has not been a favorite among the critics, many of whom have urged that with his overwhelming superiority of resources he should have accomplished his results with a greater economy of life. The answer to this point of view is to be found in Grant's conception of the war as a struggle which had to be fought to a finish. It was necessary that not only should the North win, but also that the South should know itself to be defeated, so that the conflict would be ended for all time. A campaign of higher strategy might have taken Richmond, but until Lee's army was overwhelmed, the South would not recognize its defeat, and to conquer Lee's veterans a great sacrifice of life was inevitable.

One of the great factors in his military success was his complete familiarity with all phases of command. After the war, Grant once remarked to Hillyer, his St. Louis friend,—"I think I should have failed in this position if I had come to it in the beginning, because I should not have had confidence enough. You see I have come through all the grades of the service,—captain, colonel, brigade, division, corps, army,—and I am confident of myself now. McClellan's misfortune, I always believed, was in his clearing all the grades at once, and hence feeling a want of confidence in this great responsibility."

Even the experience as quartermaster helped in qualifying him for high command; Grant always was in touch with the arrangements for supplies, and as a consequence his men were kept fit for their work.

In his methods and strategy there is nothing which revolutionized military science. He brought all the resources of a sturdy common sense, aided by a dogged resolution, to bear on his problem, and that is all! General Alexander, who served as Lee's Chief of Artillery, includes among Grant's rare qualities "his ability to make his battles keep their schedule times." There was a clear and simple reason for this. When he had written out his orders for one corps commander, he would send copies to all of the other generals, so that each would understand not only his own part, but the part of each of the others in the common result. After the war, General Ewell commented most favorably on this practice, which was wholly unlike anything practiced in the Army of Northern Virginia.

His strategy is seen at its best in the campaign before Vicksburg, and in the last campaign against Lee. Perhaps the last ten days prior to Appomattox revealed Grant's powers to best advantage, and his use of cavalry with infantry while in pursuit of Lee has been highly commended as one of the most original strokes of the war. But in all of the campaigns his concentration of resources against the material point, his continuous fighting until the end

was attained, and his constant use of all that he had, stamp his leadership as of the highest quality. Many critics have instituted a comparison between Grant and Lee, perhaps because their qualities, both military and personal, made so striking a contrast, and considering the difference in the resources of each, they generally conclude that Lee was the better general. In qualification of this point of view, however, it is well to remember the story, that once when an ex-Confederate officer was criticizing Grant's generalship to Lee, the latter promptly interrupted,—"You pay me a very poor compliment, sir, when you rate so low the general who compelled my army to surrender."

On the battle-field, and in the crises of a campaign, his mind worked very rapidly and with perfect clearness. Thus, when at Missionary Ridge, the messengers from Hooker brought the news of his victory on Lookout Mountain with so little loss, Grant at once concluded that so cheap a victory against the enemy's left must indicate that Bragg had heavily reinforced his right against Sherman.

It is not, however, by scientific contributions to the theory of war that Grant's name will live. It is rather for his personal qualities, and the determination which he brought into the struggle. From the beginning he had no doubts, either as to the righteousness of his cause, or its final triumph. From early boyhood his strong will and determination attracted attention. He once remarked that he would never turn back if he could possibly avoid

it. When a lad he had started on horseback to go to the mill and while musing he had passed the road which led to it; instead of retracing his steps he drove a long distance around so as to reach the mill without turning back. When his dogged determination became centred on the problems of the war, it was irresistible. In the darkest days of 1864, Grant said,—"I feel as certain of crushing Lee as I do of dying."

This was the secret of his influence on Sherman, McPherson and Sheridan. Toward the close of the war, Sherman once opened his heart to Wilson, who had joined him in the Georgia campaign,—"Wilson, I am a damned sight smarter man than Grant; I know a great deal more about war, military history, strategy and grand tactics than he does; I know more about organization, supply and administration and about everything else than he does; but I'll tell you where he beats me and where he beats the world. He don't care a damn for what the enemy does out of his sight, but it scares me like Hell!" Again, General Howard once said: "If at any time one said to Grant, 'Our men are worn out,' 'They are short of rations,' 'They need rest,' he would answer, 'Just so it is with the enemy.' Speeches like this seemed to be heartless, but it meant,—'Go on now, and make a little larger sacrifice and you will gain the victory. The enemy is as weak as you are.'"

There are many illustrations of this trait in the stories of the war. In the Wilderness, an excited

aide rode up to Grant, "General, Lee is in our rear." "All right," returned Grant, "then we are in his rear." Again, when Ewell made his final attack on Sedgwick, one general warned Grant that this was Lee's method, and that the Union Army would soon be outflanked. "I am heartily tired of hearing about what Lee is going to do," was Grant's response. "Some of you always seem to think that he is suddenly going to turn a double somersault, and land on our rear and both of our flanks at the same time. Go back to your command, and try to think what we are going to do ourselves, instead of what Lee is going to do." It was Lincoln's recognition of Grant's unfaltering purpose which gave him such absolute confidence in his general. "The great thing about Grant," he said to Carpenter, "is his perfect coolness and persistency of purpose. I judge he is not easily excited,—which is a great element in an officer,—and he has the *grit* of a bulldog! Once let him get his teeth *in*, and nothing can shake him off."

Here then is the secret of his greatness. In command of an army, he had a complete knowledge of its organization and capacity; he clearly and quickly thought out the possibilities of a situation; and his dogged and unfaltering persistence kept his men at the task until the work was done. It may be asked why did not these same qualities bring him success in civil life? The answer is clear, because he needed some supreme crisis to make him work at his best. With Grant, love of country was

the mastering devotion. When there was a fundamental problem to be solved, he could arouse his mighty powers; but in the ordinary affairs of life there was no special call for him. It is highly significant that when Oliver Wendell Holmes met the General in 1865, what first attracted him was the "entire loss of selfhood in a great aim which made all the common influences which stir up other people as nothing to him."

In civil life, the call to the patriot is not always clear. In the contending of factions, when all appeal alike to love of country, Grant found no guiding star. Sometimes a question would come up, like the proposed inflation of the currency, which appealed to his temperament as a fundamental question of right or wrong, and then he was just as decisive as on the battle-field. But ordinarily he saw little in civil administration, except the strife of parties for place, and in a rivalry between friends and foes he supported his friends.

The ideal of a soldier of a republic has probably never been more fully realized than in Grant;—his simplicity of manner, lack of ostentation, repugnance to military parade, which amounted to almost an aversion, his fixed devotion to the institutions of his country, contrast strongly with the personal ambition for self-aggrandizement of the typical soldier of the preceding centuries. Grant always manifested a strong respect for law as the expression of the supreme will of the people. When he was President he once said, "The best

means of securing the repeal of an obnoxious law is its vigorous enforcement." In the exciting days of the reconstruction controversy, Johnson once asked Grant where he would be found in the event of a rupture between Congress and the President. The answer was, "That will depend entirely upon which is the revolutionary party."

While Grant's fame will rest chiefly upon his services during the war, it cannot be denied that he has also made a permanent and enduring contribution to literature. Prior to the publication of the "Memoirs," it had long been recognized that Grant wrote quickly and well. His military messages and orders written upon the field of battle had certain characteristics of clearness, and they showed not only lucidity of thought but great power of expression. The common speech of the nation would be poorer if it were not for his additions to the store of apt expressions. As illustrations,—"Immediate and unconditional surrender." "I propose to move immediately on your works." "I shall take no backward steps." "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." "I shall have no policy to enforce against the will of the people." "If a command inferior to my rank is given me, it shall make no difference in my zeal." "Let no guilty man escape." It took a man of heroic mould to send word to Logan in the middle of the battle of Champion Hill when the attack was being pressed with great vigor, "Tell Logan he is making history to-day."

A study of Grant's addresses and state papers during the Presidency discloses a statesmanlike grasp of many interesting questions. He strongly urged an interoceanic canal, and in one of his statements said, "I commend an American canal on American soil to the American people." When the movement toward civil service reform was instituted, he wrote,—"The present system does not secure the best men, and often not even fit men, for public place. The elevation and purification of the civil service of the Government will be hailed with approval by the whole people of the United States." After his European experience, he anticipated a great movement toward public recreational centers in the following,—"All cities ought to have similar places where the rich and the poor, the high and the low, may meet on a footing of equality; where they may have æsthetic, instructive and other innocent amusements; and where all behave themselves in a proper manner, as is the case in the Tivoli Garden in Copenhagen. It would keep the poor people from grumbling, as well as from revolutionary tendencies." But, perhaps, the most striking of all his comments was that upon war,—"Though I have been trained as a soldier and have participated in many battles, there never was a time when in my opinion some way could not have been found of preventing the drawing of the sword. I look forward to an epoch when a court recognized by all nations will settle international differences instead of keeping large standing armies as they do in Europe."

Here then was a man who made a poor beginning in life, but recognizing his mistake he redeemed himself at the right time. When the crisis came, his military experience and poise enabled him to do something even with small resources, until at last he won recognition as the best-qualified man in the nation for large command. When the war had been fought to a finish and the Union preserved, the gratitude of his countrymen brought him into civil life for which he had little aptitude and no previous training. Even in these new experiences, however, he showed himself right upon fundamental questions, and if he was not able to curb the administrative demoralization of his time, it may at least be questioned whether any other could have done much better. In war and in peace, he never doubted the future of his country or the security of its institutions. The world will not willingly forget the life and work of a conqueror whose first thought was of sympathy with the sensitive feelings of the vanquished, and whose message to his countrymen when on the verge of his highest honor was,—"Let us have Peace." [1]

[1] Recently there has been an interesting contribution to the Grant Genealogy, in "Heredity in Relation to Eugenics," by Charles Benedict Davenport. It is stated that both Grant and Grover Cleveland were directly descended from Ann Richardson and hence related to the fine Puritan stock of New England. The student of heredity could draw an interesting parallel between these two men who had in common not only certain fundamentals of character, but also outward resemblances of manner.

THE END

APPENDIX A

Letters of Grant and Sherman
March, 1864

Nashville, Tennessee, March 4, 1864.

Dear Sherman:

The bill reviving the grade of lieutenant-general in the army has become a law, and my name has been sent to the Senate for the place.

I now receive orders to report at Washington immediately, in person, which indicates either a confirmation or a likelihood of confirmation. I start in the morning to comply with the order, but I shall say very distinctly on my arrival there that I shall accept no appointment which will require me to make that city my headquarters. This, however, is not what I started out to write about.

While I have been eminently successful in this war, in at least gaining the confidence of the public, no one feels more than I how much of this success is due to the energy, skill, and the harmonious putting forth of that energy and skill, of those whom it has been my good fortune to have occupying subordinate positions under me.

There are many officers to whom these remarks are applicable to a greater or less degree, proportionate to their ability as soldiers; but what I want is to express my thanks to you and McPherson, as the men to whom, above all others, I feel indebted for whatever I have had of success. How far your advice and suggestions have been of assistance, you

know. How far your execution of whatever has been given you to do entitles you to the reward I am receiving, you cannot know as well as I do. I feel all the gratitude this letter would express, giving it the most flattering construction.

The word you I use in the plural, intending it for McPherson also. I should write to him, and will some day, but, starting in the morning, I do not know that I will find time just now. Your friend,

U. S. GRANT,
Major-General.

Near Memphis, March 10, 1864.

GENERAL GRANT:

Dear General:—I have your more than kind and characteristic letter of the 4th, and will send a copy of it to General McPherson at once.

You do yourself injustice and us too much honor in assigning to us so large a share of the merits which have led to your high advancement. I know you approve the friendship I have ever professed to you, and will permit me to continue as heretofore to manifest it on all proper occasions.

You are now Washington's legitimate successor, and occupy a position of almost dangerous elevation; but if you can continue as heretofore to be yourself, simple, honest, and unpretending, you will enjoy through life the respect and love of friends, and the homage of millions of human beings who will award to you a large share for securing to them and their descendants a government of law and stability.

I repeat, you do General McPherson and myself too much honor. At Belmont you manifested your traits, neither of us being near; at Donelson also

you illustrated your whole character. I was not near, and General McPherson in too subordinate a capacity to influence you.

Until you had won Donelson, I confess I was almost cowed by the terrible array of anarchical elements that presented themselves at every point; but that victory admitted the ray of light which I have followed ever since.

I believe you are as brave, patriotic, and just as the great prototype Washington; as unselfish, kind-hearted, and honest as a man should be; but the chief characteristic in your nature is the simple faith in success you have always manifested, which I can liken to nothing else than the faith a Christian has in his Saviour.

This faith gave you the victory at Shiloh and Vicksburg. Also, when you have completed your best preparations, you go into battle without hesitation, as at Chattanooga—no doubts, no reserve; and I tell you that it was this that made us act with confidence. I knew wherever I was that you thought of me, and if I got in a tight place you would come—if alive.

My only points of doubt were as to your knowledge of grand strategy, and of books of science and history; but I confess your common-sense seems to have supplied all this.

Now as to the future. Do not stay in Washington. Halleck is better qualified than you are to stand the buffets of intrigue and policy. Come out West; take to yourself the whole Mississippi Valley; let us make it dead-sure, and I tell you the Atlantic slope and Pacific shores will follow its destiny as sure as the limbs of a tree live or die with the main trunk! We have done much; still much remains to be done. Time and time's influences are all with us; we could almost afford to sit still and

let these influences work. Even in the seceded States your word now would go further than a President's proclamation, or an act of Congress.

For God's sake and for your country's sake, come out of Washington! I foretold to General Halleck, before he left Corinth, the inevitable result to him, and I now exhort you to come out West. Here lies the seat of the coming empire; and from the West, when our task is done, we will make short work of Charleston and Richmond, and the impoverished coast of the Atlantic.

Your sincere friend,
W. T. SHERMAN.

APPENDIX B

The Official Orders in May, 1864

Headquarters, Army of the Potomac,
May 2, 1864.

Orders:

1. The army will move on Wednesday, the 4th May, 1864.

2. On the day previous, Tuesday, the 3d May, Major-General Sheridan, commanding Cavalry Corps, will move Gregg's cavalry division to the vicinity of Richardsville. It will be accompanied by one-half of the canvas pontoon train, the engineer troops with which will repair the road to Ely's ford as far as practicable without exposing their work to the observation of the enemy.

Guards will be placed in all the occupied houses on or in the vicinity of the route of the cavalry, and in advance toward the Rapidan, so as to prevent any communication with the enemy by the inhabitants. The same precaution will be taken at the same time in front of the First and Third Cavalry Divisions, and wherever it may be considered necessary.

At 2 o'clock A. M., on the 4th May, Gregg's division will move to Ely's ford, cross the Rapidan as soon as the canvas pontoon bridge is laid, if the river is not fordable, and as soon as the infantry of the Second Corps is up will move to the vicinity of Piney Branch Church, or in that section, throwing reconnaissances well out on the Pamunkey road

toward Spottsylvania Court House, Hamilton's crossing and Fredericksburg.

The roads past Piney Branch Church, Tod's tavern, etc., will be kept clear for the passage of the infantry the following day.

The cavalry division will remain in this position to cover the passage of the army trains, and will move with them and cover their left flank.

At midnight on the 3d May, the Third Cavalry Division, with one-half the canvas pontoon bridge train, which will join it after dark, will move to Germania ford, taking the plank-road and cross the Rapidan as soon as the bridge is laid, if the river is not fordable, and hold the crossing until the infantry of the Fifth Corps is up; it will then move to Parker's store on the Orange Court House plank-road or that vicinity, sending out strong reconnaissances on the Orange plank and pike roads, and the Catharpin and Pamunkey roads, until they feel the enemy, and at least as far as Robertson's tavern, the Hope Church, and Ormond's or Robinson's.

All intelligence concerning the enemy will be communicated with promptitude to headquarters, and to the corps and division commanders of the nearest infantry troops.

3. Major-General Warren, commanding Fifth Corps, will send two divisions at midnight of the 3d instant by way of Stevensburg and the plank-road to the crossing of Germania ford. So much bridge train as may be necessary to bridge the Rapidan at Germania ford, with such artillery as may be required, will accompany these divisions, which will be followed by the remainder of the corps at such hour that the column will cross the Rapidan without delay. Such disposition of the troops and artillery as may be found necessary to cover the bridge will be made by the corps commander, who,

after crossing, will move to the vicinity of the Old Wilderness tavern on the Orange Court House pike. The corps will move the following day past the head of Catharpin's Run, crossing the Orange Court House plank-road at Parker's store.

4. Major-General Sedgwick, commanding Sixth Corps, will move at 4 A. M., on the 4th inst., by way of Stevensburg and Germania plank-road to Germania ford, following the Fifth Corps, and after crossing the Rapidan will bivouac on the heights beyond. The canvas pontoon train will be taken up as soon as the troops of the Sixth Corps have crossed, and will follow immediately in rear of the troops of that corps.

So much of the bridge train of the Sixth Corps as may be necessary to bridge the Rapidan at Culpeper Mine ford will proceed to Richardsville in rear of the reserve artillery, and as soon as it is ascertained that the reserve artillery are crossing, it will move to Culpeper Mine ford, where the bridge will be established.

The engineers of this bridge train will at once open a road from Culpeper Mine ford direct to Richardsville.

5. Major-General Hancock, commanding Second Corps, will send two divisions, with so much of the bridge train as may be necessary to bridge the Rapidan at Ely's ford, and such artillery as may be required, at midnight of the 3d instant, to Ely's ford. The remainder of the corps will follow at such hour that the column will cross the Rapidan without delay.

The canvas pontoon train at this ford will be taken up as soon as the troops of this corps have passed, and will move with it at the head of the trains that accompany the troops. The wooden pontoon bridge will remain.

The Second Corps will enter the Stevensburg and Richardsville road at Madden's, in order that the route from Stevensburg to the plank-road may be free for the Fifth and Sixth Corps. After crossing the Rapidan the Second Corps will move to the vicinity of Chandler's or Chancellorsville.

6. It is expected that the advance divisions of the Fifth and Second Corps, with the wooden pontoon trains, will be at the designated points of crossing not later than 6 A. M. of the 4th instant.

7. The reserve artillery will move at 3 A. M. of the 4th instant and follow the Second Corps, passing Mountain Run at Ross's mills or Hamilton's crossing at Ely's ford, take the road to Chancellorsville, and halt for the night at Hunting Creek.

8. Great care will be taken by the corps commanders that the roads are promptly repaired by the pioneers wherever needed, not only for the temporary wants of the division or corps to which the pioneers belong, but for the passage of the troops and trains that follow on the same route.

9. During the movement on the 4th and following days, the commanders of the Fifth and Sixth Corps will occupy the roads on the right flank to cover the passage of their corps, and will keep their flankers well out in that direction.

The commanders of the Second Corps and reserve artillery will in a similar manner look out for the left flank.

Wherever practicable, double columns will be used to shorten the columns. Corps commanders will keep in communication and connection with each other, and coöperate wherever necessary. Their picket lines will be connected. They will keep the Commanding General constantly advised of their progress and of everything important that occurs, and will send staff officers to acquaint him

with the location of their headquarters. During the movement of the 4th instant, headquarters will be on the route of the Fifth and Sixth Corps. It will be established at night between those corps and the Germania plank-road.

10. The infantry troops will take with them fifty rounds of ammunition upon the person, three (3) days' full rations in the haversacks, three (3) days' bread and small rations in the knapsacks, and three days' beef on the hoof.

Each corps will take with it one-half of its intrenching tools, one hospital wagon, and one medium wagon for each brigade; one-half of the ambulance trains and the light spring-wagons, and pack animals allowed at the various headquarters.

No other trains or means of transportation than those just specified will accompany the corps, except such wagons as may be necessary for the forage for immediate use for five (5) days. The artillery will have with them the ammunition of the caissons only.

11. The subsistence and other trains loaded with the amount of rations, forage, infantry and artillery ammunition, etc., heretofore ordered, the surplus wooden pontoons of the different corps, etc., will be assembled under the direction of the Chief Quartermaster of the army in the vicinity of Richardsville, with a view to crossing the Rapidan by bridges at Ely's ford and Culpeper Mine ford.

12. A detail of 1,000 or 1,200 men will be made from each corps as guard for its subsistence and other trains; this detail will be composed of entire regiments as far as practicable. No other guards whatever for regimental, brigade, division, or corps wagons will be allowed. Each detail will be under the command of an officer selected for that purpose, and the whole will be commanded by the senior officer of the three.

This guard will be so disposed as to protect the trains on the march and in park. The trains are likewise protected by cavalry on the flank and rear.

13. Major-General Sheridan, commanding the Cavalry Corps, will direct the first Cavalry Division to call in its pickets and patrols on the right on the morning of the 4th instant and hold itself ready to move and cover the trains of the army; it will picket and watch the fords of the Rapidan from Rapidan Station to Germania ford. On the morning of the 5th the First Cavalry Division will cross the Rapidan at Germania ford and cover the right flank of the trains while crossing the Rapidan and during their movements in rear of the army.

The signal stations on Cedar, Poney, and Stoney Mountains will be maintained as long as practicable.

14. The wooden pontoon train at Germania and Ely's fords will remain for the passage of General Burnside's Army. That at Culpeper Mine ford will be taken up under the direction of the Chief Engineer as soon as the trains have crossed, and will move with the train of its corps.

By command of Major-General Meade,

S. WILLIAMS,
Asst. Adjutant-General.

APPENDIX C

Concluding Correspondence Between Grant and Lee

The concluding correspondence between Grant and Lee is here given in full.

[No. 1.]

April 7, 1865.

General:—The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States Army known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

U. S. Grant,
Lieutenant-General.

General R. E. Lee.

[No. 2.]

April 7, 1865.

General:—I have received your note of this date. Though not entertaining the opinion you express on the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, I reciprocate your desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, and therefore, before considering your proposition, ask the terms you will offer on condition of its surrender.

R. E. Lee,
General.

Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant.

[No. 3.]

April 8, 1865.

General:—Your note of last evening in reply to mine of same date, asking the condition on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, is just received. In reply, I would say that peace being my great desire, there is but one condition I would insist upon, namely, that the men and officers surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms again against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged. I will meet you, or will designate officers to meet any officers you may name for the same purpose, at any point agreeable to you, for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received.

U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General.

GENERAL R. E. LEE.

[No. 4.]

April 8, 1865.

General:—I received at a late hour your note of to-day. In mine of yesterday I did not intend to propose the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, but to ask the terms of your proposition. To be frank, I do not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender of this army, but as the restoration of peace should be the sole object of all, I desire to know whether your proposals would lead to that end. I cannot, therefore, meet you with a view to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia, but as far as your proposal may affect the Confederate States forces under my command, and tend to the restoration of peace, I should be pleased to meet you at ten A. M. to-morrow on the old stage road

to Richmond, between the picket-lines of the two armies.

R. E. LEE,
General.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

[No. 5.]

April 9, 1865.

General:—Your note of yesterday received. I have no authority to treat on the subject of peace; the meeting proposed for ten A. M. to-day could lead to no good. I will state however, General, that I am equally anxious for peace with yourself, and the whole North entertains the same feeling. The terms upon which peace can be had are well understood.

By the South laying down their arms they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed.

Seriously hoping that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life, I subscribe myself, etc.,

U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General.

GENERAL R. E. LEE.

[No. 6.]

April 9, 1865.

General:—I received your note of this morning on the picket-line, whither I had come to meet you, and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposal of yesterday, with reference to the surrender of this army. I now ask an interview in accordance with the offer contained in your letter of yesterday, for that purpose.

R. E. LEE,
General.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

[No. 7.]

April 9, 1865.

General R. E. Lee, Commanding C. S. A.:

Your note of this date is but this moment, 11:50 A. M., received. In consequence of having passed from the Richmond and Lynchburg road to the Farmville and Lynchburg road, I am, at this writing, about four miles west of Walker's Church, and will push forward to the front, for the purpose of meeting you.

Notice sent to me on this road where you wish the interview to take place will meet me.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General.

[No. 8.]

Appomattox Court House, Va.,
April 9, 1865.

General:—In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th instant, I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit: Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer or officers as you may designate. The officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged; and each company or regimental commander sign a like parole for the men of their commands. The arms, artillery, and public property to be parked and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side-arms of the officers nor the private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home,

not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their paroles, and the laws in force where they may reside.

U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General.

GENERAL R. E. LEE.

[No. 9.]

Headquarters Army of Northern Virginia,
April 9, 1865.

General:—I have received your letter of this date, containing the terms of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia as proposed by you. As they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th instant, they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect.

R. E. LEE,
General.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

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